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HISTORY
OF THE
FOUNDATIONS
IN
MANCHESTER, &c.

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OF THE
FOUNDATIONS
IN
MANCHESTER, &c.



PRINTED BY JOHN STARK, EDINBURGH.

HISTORY
OF THE
FOUNDATIONS
IN
MANCHESTER
OF CHRIST'S COLLEGE,
CHETHAM'S HOSPITAL,
AND
THE FREE GRAMMAR SCHOOL.



VOLUME THE FIRST.



MANCHESTER :
THOMAS AGNEW AND JOSEPH ZANETTI,
REPOSITORY OF ARTS.
MDCCCXXX.



TO
THE VERY REVEREND THOMAS CALVERT, D.D.
WARDEN, OR DEAN,
THE REV. JOHN GATCLIFFE, A.M.
THE REV. CHARLES WICKSTED ETHELSTONE, A.M.
THE REV. JOHN CLOWES, A.M.
THE REV. JOHN HOLDSWORTH MALLORY, A.M.
FELLOWS
OF CHRIST'S COLLEGE, MANCHESTER,
THE FOLLOWING
HISTORY OF THEIR COLLEGIATE CHURCH,
IS MOST RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED,
BY THEIR VERY OBEDIENT SERVANTS,

THOMAS AGNEW,
JOSEPH ZANETTI,
PUBLISHERS.

HISTORY
OF THE
COLLEGIATE CHURCH,
THE FREE GRAMMAR SCHOOL,
AND
CHETHAM'S COLLEGE, MANCHESTER.

PREFATORY ADDRESS BY THE PUBLISHERS.

IT has been a frequent subject of regret that the History of Manchester has not had the justice done to it which it deserves. In the year 1654 the Reverend Mr Hollingworth gave a brief sketch of the annals of this town, deduced from records which are now no more. His history, therefore, has very properly served as a basis for the labours of succeeding authors. Two copies of this volume in manuscript are known to be in existence, one of which is in the Chetham Library of Manchester. Its title is "Mancuniensis, or the History of the Toune of Manchester, in the Countie of Lancaster, and what is most memorable concerning it."

The Reverend Mr Whittaker next produced a work, which will live as long as the study of archæology is cultivated in this country ; but owing to the unlimited range which it took, it is far less valuable as an *exposé* of the local objects meriting attention in this town, than as a general dissertation on the whole of the antiquities of Great

Britain. His volume is also incomplete, having been brought down to no later a period than the Norman Conquest.

Dr Aikin also undertook to give a history of the country from thirty to forty miles round Manchester : but the space he allotted in his work to the description of the town was necessarily too confined to render to it any degree of justice. Since this time Mr Aston has published a Manchester Guide, which, considering the small size of the volume, contains much interesting and curious matter.

The late Reverend J. Greswell, schoolmaster of the Chetham Institution, a gentleman of very great private worth, and a scholar, was the last who sought to supply the desideratum. He was employed for several years in collecting materials for the history of Manchester, which he intended to publish with the following preface :

“ It appears extraordinary that Manchester, which, from its population and commercial importance, is deservedly esteemed second only to the Metropolis, should not have had its rise and progress fully and accurately investigated and described. Mr Whittaker has indeed taken much pains to give celebrity to its earlier period, by making it the focus and rallying point of his laborious and learned researches into the state of our island under its Roman and Saxon masters. His partiality to his native town, of which he was an ornament, and which he was desirous to adorn, may have rendered him, in the opinion of some, too solicitous to establish its importance in these remote eras ; but this, to his fellow-townsmen at least, must appear rather to claim indulgence than to provoke censure. If he has shown so much zeal in behalf of the place of his nativity in the very obscure periods which he has described, what might not have been expected from his researches and talents had he continued his history down to the present age ? Whatever induced Mr Whittaker to abandon the completion of his plan is certainly to be regretted. It is sufficient, on the present occasion, to observe, that the reader who desires to inquire into the state of our island, and especially this part of it, at the periods of which Mr Whittaker treats, will perhaps find nowhere information more interesting and minute than in his work.

“ Should the reader desire any information as to the occasion of the present attempt, the following is submitted to his candour as the author's apology. Resid-

ing beneath the roof of the venerable edifice originally erected for the residence of the Collegiate body, and now appropriated to the benevolent and excellent institution of Mr Chetham, and situated, as Mr Whittaker maintains, on the site not only of the residence of the Saxon and Norman Barons of Manchester, but of the summer camp of the Romans, he naturally felt a wish to retrace its history, and to obtain some acquaintance with its former inhabitants. This, however, he soon found not less difficult than it appeared to be desirable. Few documents seemed to remain, and information was to be drawn in small portions from widely scattered sources. Many valuable and interesting records were doubtless destroyed when in the civil wars the College writings were forcibly seized and sent by the Parliamentary forces to London, where they are said to have perished in the great fire. While collecting, merely with a view to the amusement of his own leisure, such particulars as his access to the Chetham library afforded him, the author was induced to devote a more particular degree of attention to the subject from the following circumstance :

“ ‘ A few years ago, a gentleman of the first eminence in the literary world happening to visit Manchester, complained that he had in vain sought for information concerning our principal institutions ; he thought they were not deserving of this obscurity ; that the trouble which should be employed in investigating them would not be unprofitably bestowed ; and was pleased to recommend the task to the author.’ From this encouragement he proceeded to examine every source to which he had access, and lays, with all due respect, the result before the public. Should the reader find the following pages less satisfactory, he may be assured that nothing is contained in them for which the authorities are not carefully adduced, that neither invention nor conjecture (*non erat his locus*) are offered to his attention, but a statement which lays claim to nothing but fidelity.”

Unfortunately for this undertaking Mr Greswell did not live to complete his labours ; his lamented decease having taken place before any part of the history from his own pen had commenced. The materials, however, of his intended volume remained. They were a compilation from the works of various authors, who have in different periods incidentally touched upon the annals of Manchester, interspersed with many curious original notices derived from manuscript documents. These formed altogether a body of matter far more valuable and comprehensive than any which had been previously collected.

The publishers having obtained a transcript of Mr Greswell's manuscript volume, were anxious to present such a part of it to their subscribers as related to the principal institutions of this town. But they soon found that much additional matter was still required, particularly as the historical compilation broke off in the year 1781, and the contents of the volume required much preliminary arrangement.

In the present volume this deficiency will be in some measure supplied; the publishers have therefore a few remarks to offer on the particular subjects to which it is limited.

One of the most grateful of occupations which can engage the attention of the moralist is to trace the origin and progress of foundations consecrated to Learning, to Benevolence, and to Religion. It is in a peculiar degree instructive to inquire into the benefits produced by such establishments during the period when they were formed, and to observe their progressive influence on the manners of society. It is also a duty, if we would perpetuate the objects of useful institutions, to avail ourselves of every opportunity which is afforded us of preserving the memories of public benefactors, who may have devoted their talents, their time, or their wealth, to the important end of ameliorating and advancing the condition of their fellow-citizens.

This is the true value of local history. In the town of Manchester there are several distinguished institutions that deserve such an elucidation; but of these the Collegiate Church, the Free Grammar School, and Chetham's Hospital, stand in the foremost rank. The publishers have therefore undertaken, in this volume, to perpetuate the names of founders and benefactors, to enumerate their useful labours, to specify their munificent grants, and to describe the internal regulations which have been established for the government of the institutions to which they have contributed. In pursuance of this plan, the biographic notices which will be found interspersed

throughout this work are abundant. And, as the chain of narrative extends through several centuries, many occasional anecdotes are given, illustrative of the moral, the civil, and political state of the town, at various periods of its history.

To complete this labour the publishers have been indebted to several literary gentlemen. Dr Hibbert of Edinburgh has undertaken the arduous task of remodelling the materials of Mr Greswell's volume, and has considerably added to them : he has also prefaced the whole with an Introductory Memoir on the earlier and more obscure annals of the town. The obligations which the publishers are under to other gentlemen during the course of getting up the work will be found acknowledged in their proper place. In the History of the Wardens of Manchester, the Reverend Mr Hollingworth's manuscript is preserved as the chief text.

Graphical embellishments, executed in the first style of the art, from original paintings and drawings, made purposely for the work, are also given. They chiefly consist of architectural plans, elevations, and views of the several structures, sepulchral monuments, and carvings, which come under description. The plates are engraved by Mr Pye.

The present work is divided into Four Parts.

The first part comprises a History of the Collegiate Church of Manchester.

The second part is a History of the Free Grammar School.

The third part is a History of Chetham's Hospital ; And

The fourth part is devoted to an Architectural Description of the ancient Collegiate Church and College of Manchester.

PART I.

HISTORY

OF THE

Collegiate Church of Manchester.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
College and Collegiate Church,
MANCHESTER,

FOUNDED BY THOMAS, LORD DE LA WARRE,
A. D. M.CCCC.XXII.

"—MANCHESTER COLLEGE—THAT NOBLE AND USEFUL FOUNDATION FOR LEARNING, AND
PROPAGATION OF RELIGION IN THOSE NORTHERN PARTS."

Strype's Annals.

DRAWN UP FROM ORIGINAL OR VERY SCARCE DOCUMENTS,

BY S. HIBBERT, M.D., F.R.S.E. &c. &c.

PREFACE TO PART THE FIRST.

As this History has made its appearance in a periodical form, the general introduction was rather prematurely published in the first number. Circumstances, however, have since occurred, which have been explained during the progress of publication, sufficient to justify some changes which the work has undergone in the mode of its being conducted. These it would be unnecessary to recapitulate, were it not with the view of correcting one or two misconceptions, which the prefatory pages are calculated to excite.

When I undertook to superintend these volumes, I was led to suppose that the late Mr Greswell, who, I understood many years ago, had spent much time in collecting materials for a work like this, had left few sources of information unvisited, and that, in order to give the public the benefit of them, little more was necessary, except to arrange them in a due methodical order, and to add to the narrative thus formed, any explanatory or connecting links which it might demand. With this expectation I undertook an office, which, under different prospects, no inducement whatever could have tempted me to accept, as I had neither time nor inclination for the labour.

Having entertained, therefore, a perfect misconception of the actual progress which the late Mr Greswell had made towards his intended work, I found that this gentleman, for whose memory I entertain every respect, had in a manner done little more than commence his labours, the design having evidently been frustrated by his lamented decease; and that a wide field of information subsisted, of which no Lancashire historian had yet availed himself.

This discovery was to myself a source of unexpected embarrassment and distress. My name had in a manner stood pledged before the public, that the History of the Collegiate Church of Manchester, long a desideratum in Lancashire, should be published ; and I was naturally anxious to fulfil my promise, though at the risk of engaging in a task, for which I was neither encouraged by the nature of my present pursuits, nor my general course of studies. No one, in short, could be possibly less ambitious than myself to appear before the public as a recorder of ecclesiastical annals.

It was, however, impossible for me to proceed very far with the late Mr Greswell's manuscript. In endeavouring to follow it, I was in the end obliged to cancel no fewer than four of the early sheets,—an experiment which was growing a very expensive one to the publishers, for whose sake I was compelled to desist. But that every justice may be rendered to the actual amount of this gentleman's labours, I would state, that his name stands duly recorded at the head of each chapter which has been assisted by them, and that the extracts from various authors which he made, (for he wrote no part of the narrative himself,) will be found chiefly interspersed in that portion of the history which is posterior to the foundation of the Collegiate Church, but prior to, or a little after the Reformation, where they appear in connection with Hollingworth's manuscript, which is the proper basis or ground-work of most that is known of this period. And if in any other part of the work, I have been occasionally indebted to the same collections, an acknowledgment for each distinct obligation appears in its proper place ;—a duty on my part, which in no instance to my knowledge, I have omitted.

After this explanation I shall merely add, that the materials from which I have derived the bulk of the present narrative are explained in detail throughout its course, and therefore need no repetition in a preface. The great share which the library of Mr Heywood of Swinton Lodge has had in affording me the information which I needed, is particularly conspicuous ; and some notion may be formed of the richness of his collection on all subjects connected with this his-

tory, by perusing the list of volumes in his possession, relative to the events of Manchester during the Great Rebellion, all of which he generously allowed me to consult. (See the Addenda to the present volume, page 415.)

Nothing now remains for me except to say a few words upon the general nature of the information submitted to the reader.

The ecclesiastical information, much of which is collected from very rare and almost inaccessible documents, will, I believe, be found to be for the first time published ; nor can it be perused by the most hasty reader without his conviction, that the College of Manchester gave the impulse to all the important ecclesiastical events which took place in Lancashire from the commencement of the reign of Elizabeth, down to the commotions of the year 1745. Many facts are also narrated, particularly during the great civil wars of England, which not only reflect a new light upon the general history of Lancashire, but are calculated to explain many obscure points in the ecclesiastical annals of the kingdom at large. These I have assiduously collected, and have endeavoured to record with impartiality and fidelity.

S. HIBBERT.

EDINBURGH, *June 24th*, 1830.

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PART FIRST.

HISTORY OF THE COLLEGIATE CHURCH.

INTRODUCTORY MEMOIR.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE PARSONAGE AND DEANERY OF MANCHESTER, CONCLUDING WITH THE FOUNDATION OF THE COLLEGIATE CHURCH :—WITH MISCELLANEOUS NOTES ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE MORE GENERAL ANNALS OF THE TOWN.

Written for this work by SAMUEL HIBBERT, M. D. F. R. S. E. &c. *

MANCHESTER was originally situated on the northern banks of the river Medlock, upon the site of ground known at the present day by the name of the Castle Field. The learned Whittaker, the historian of Manchester, has supposed, that, as a place of defence, it owed its origin to the Sistuntii, the earliest possessors of the south of Lancashire, by whom the settlement was named Mancenion,^b

* When studying, some years ago, the very erudite researches of the Reverend J. Whittaker, my attention was attracted to the more early Ecclesiastical History of Manchester. Finding, therefore, on the present occasion, that the late Mr Greswell's collections on this particular subject were comparatively few, I have drawn up the present memoir from my own resources.

^b "The dimensions of Mancenion," says Mr Whittaker, "are still very discernible. It filled the whole area of the present Castle Field, except the low swampy part of it on the west, and was twelve acres, three roods, and ten perches in extent. Terminated by the windings of the Medlock on the south, south-east, and south-west, it was bounded on the east by a fosse, on the west by the present very lofty bank, and on the north by a broad ditch."—"And all along the

signifying a place of tents ;—that the fortress afterwards became, from right of conquest, a station of the more powerful British tribe of the Brigantes ;—that it was next taken by the Romans, who, after having remodelled it, changed the name of Mancenion into Mancunium ;—and that, during the long period in which the Romans kept possession of this station,^c the British natives dwelt without the northern barrier, on the site since named Aldport, or the old borough.^d

The foregoing is a summary of what little is conjectured regarding the first inhabitants of Manchester. Their earliest ecclesiastical annals are veiled in still greater obscurity. The religious tenets which prevailed among the first inhabitants of Britain were those which have been frequently described by historians under the name of Druidic ; but at what precise period they began to be dispelled by the light of Christianity is uncertain. Eusebius informs us, that Britain was indebted for the introduction of Christianity to the zeal of some of the first disciples of Christ ; and it has been also alleged that Christianity was publicly professed in this country before the close of the second century. It is certain that, early in the fourth century, several British Christians suffered martyrdom, and that some British bishops, reported to labour under the greatest poverty, attended the councils. But whether Mancunium was entitled at this time to rank

present streets, instead of the cheerful voice of industry, and the numerous retainers of commerce, must then have existed the gloom of forests and the silence of solitude. So circumstanced must then have been the whole busy circuit of the present town, the solitude and silence being never interrupted but by the numerous resort of soldiers to the fortress in war, by the occasional visits of the hunters in peace, and by the hollow hum, the dying murmurs of the garrison conversing at a distance in the Castle Field. And a mind tolerably romantic might long amuse itself with the reflection, that the boar and the wolf, then the inhabitants of this gloomy region, were, for the most part, the only proprietors of these ample confines, and that they lumbered, perhaps in security, by day on the well-wooded bank of the present church-yard, and roamed perhaps by night in companies over the well-wooded area of the present market-place.

^c Mr Whittaker has shown that Mancunium was garrisoned by the first Frisian cohort, consisting of auxiliary troops raised of natives from Friesland, as appears from monumental inscriptions which have at different periods been discovered near the place.—See the different editions of Camden's *Britannia* and Mr Whittaker's *History of Manchester*.

^d Mr Whittaker maintains that a summer station of the Romans of Mancunium was held near the confluence of the rivers Irwell and Irk, distant about a mile north from Castle Field, on the site where successively stood the residence of the Saxon and Norman barons of Manchester, and where now stand the college, the collegiate church, and many other buildings.—Whittaker, Vol. I. p. 182. This is nothing, however, but a mere hypothesis, perfectly uncountenanced by the discovery of the least vestige of Roman remains upon the site.

among the towns which could boast a Christian church must ever remain questionable. There is not a shadow of evidence in support of the assertion which has been made in the affirmative.

For nearly three hundred years the fortress of Mancunium was garrisoned by Roman soldiers, who were at length summoned away with other legions to form a part of the great army intended to repel the myriads of barbarians that threatened to overrun the whole of the continent of Europe. The Britons were then released from their allegiance, and, as they had been long exposed to the depredations of the Pictish tribes, it became necessary that they should elect chiefs from their own nation to direct their councils and lead them against their enemies. Their military positions were strengthened, and, as the Roman model of a fortress did not suit their habits, large buildings of stone were not unfrequently reared on the sites of stations, the walls of which were intended to constitute a more formidable barrier against an assault. At this period, then, it is supposed that the Mancunium of the Romans first boasted a rude castle, and hence the name of *Man-kastelb*, which was applied to its site. But the Britons were not long able of themselves to contend against their enemies. They therefore imprudently invited to their aid the Saxons, who, after subduing the Picts and Caledonians, sought themselves a quarrel with their distressed allies; laid waste the country with fire and sword; and gradually advanced to the provinces of the north of England. Man-castle was no doubt one of the many fortresses which readily surrendered to their arms.

The invasion of the Saxons led to the worship of fresh deities, as of Odin, Thor, and Frigga, and the other mythological *personæ* of the Edda. Although churches had existed in Britain before this event, it is extremely doubtful if the proselytes to Christianity were either very numerous or steady in their attachment to the new religion which was taught. The Saxons, therefore, found it no very difficult task to introduce into the country which they subdued their own system of paganism, which accorded so well with their military habits. To the free-born who fell by the sword an admission to Valhalla, or the hall of Odin, was promised, where heroes might possess the gratification of daily cutting each other to pieces in battle; and as the hour of repast drew near, of enjoying a resuscitation that qualified them to eat boar's flesh, and drink mead out of the skulls of their enemies. But they were also threatened with a place consisting of nine worlds, where Hela, with the direst horrors, inflicted punishment on all who should die of disease or old age.

Such was the religion of the votaries of Odin ; and it is an interesting circumstance, that the remains of a temple devoted to the rites of this deity (whom the Anglo-Saxons named Woden) existed not many years ago at Ordsall, near Manchester. On the north bank of the river Irwell, south-west of the town, was a cave open to the south, which was adorned with grotesque sculptures rudely cut out of the rock. In an old charter it is described by the appellation of Woden's Den, while an adjoining shallow part of the stream, the traversing of which was assisted by a paved causeway, bore the name of Woden's Ford. There can be little question but that in this recess the sacrifices, divination, and compacts appertaining to the worship of the mythological hero of the Edda were regularly practised.

With the view of attempting the recovery of the provinces of the north, Arthur, the sovereign of the Silures, is said to have been selected by Ambrosius, the pendragon of the Britons, for the command of the army. Among the twelve victories of Arthur over the Saxons, four of them were obtained on the banks of the river Douglas in Lancashire.*

A. D. 542. Five years after the death of Arthur, Ida, a Saxon leader, landing at Flam-

* In these annals of Arthur's feats the traditionary story related in *La Morte d'Arthur*, still current, is supposed to have taken place. Mr Whittaker has endeavoured to strip the romance of its fantastic disguise, by supposing that Torquin or Tarquin, as he is named in the romance of *Morte Arthur*, is the same as the Turk described in Lhuyd's *Archæologia*, who was the commander of a body of Saxons ; that this officer, being vested with the command of the castle of Manchester, disgraced his courage by his brutality, and that Lancelot du Lac, the king of Cheshire, residing at Poolton Lancelot in the Hundred of Wirral, was the successful commander of the party that retook the fortress and slew the tyrant. It is certain that the historian of Manchester has most ingeniously interwoven the slender thread of hypothesis in his history of Castle Field ; but how far success has rewarded his exertions may admit of a very reasonable doubt.

The story of Tarquin formed the subject of an ancient ballad. This I reprinted in the year 1808, with remarks on the tradition. Mr Richard Hollingworth, in his manuscript history of Manchester, thus notices the story : " It is said that Sir Tarquine, a stout enemy of King Arthur, kept this castle, and neare to the ford in Medlock, about Mab-house, hung a bason in a tree, on which bason whosoever did strike, Sir Tarquine, or some of his company, would come and fight with him. And that Sir Lancelot Du Lake, a knight of King Arthur's Round Table, did beat upon the bason, fought with Tarquine, killed him, and possessed himself of the castle, and loosed the prisoners. Whosoever thinks it worth his pains to read more of it may read the history of King Arthur. It is certaine that, about Anno Dom. 520, there was such a Prince as King Arthur, and it is not incredible that he or his knights might contend about this castle when he was in this country. And as Ninus saith, he put the Saxons to flight in a memorable battle near Wigan, about twelve miles off."

borough, subdued the counties of Northumberland and Durham, and assumed the title of King of Bernicia, while Ella, another Saxon chief, conquering the greatest part of Lancashire and Yorkshire, received the name of King of Deira. Ethelrid, grandson of Ida, afterwards united in himself the government of both Bernicia and Deira, and established one of the most powerful Saxon kingdoms by the title of Northumbria. But the southern Sistuntii of Lancashire, and the Brigantes inhabiting the west of Yorkshire, remained for the present unsubdued. About seven or eight years after this period, Gregory the Great commissioned Augustine to attempt the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons. The missionaries to whom this important duty was first entrusted consisted chiefly of monks, who were promised dignities commensurate with their approved utility. In the southern provinces they were joined by some of the Gallic clergy, who acted for them as interpreters. Ethelbert, King of the East Saxons, who had married a Christian wife, was the first baptized, his example being followed by ten thousand of his subjects. The southern Sistuntii of Lancashire were among the numerous tribes of the north of England who long remained unconverted, until they fell, along with the inhabitants of the west of Yorkshire, under the extended dominion of the Northumbrian Saxons. It was in the year 620 that Mancastle submitted to Edwin, one of the greatest princes of the octarchy; its adjoining town then acquired the Saxon name of Manigceastre, of the same import as Mancenion. Seven years afterwards, this monarch and his Northumbrian subjects were converted by Coiffi, who had renounced for the cross the office which he had before held of high priest to Odin. At this period we may date the conversion of Manigceastre. Pope Gregory deemed it impolitic by too sudden an innovation to oppose the deep-rooted tenets of the people, but rather sought to wean them by insensible degrees from their pagan errors. He therefore prudently recommended that the fanes sacred to idolatrous rites should not be destroyed, but that they should be converted into Christian churches. This precept was kept in view during the first proselytism of Manigceastre. The walls of the cavern of Orsdall, which had been sacred to the rites of Odin, boasted a variety of rude sculptures indicative of the religion of Jesus; and it is highly probable that some of these owed their origin to the pious labours of the first successful teachers of the Gospel in Northumbria.^f The effect which

^f The following description of this once very curious and most interesting cavern I transcribe from the manuscripts of the late Mr Thomas Barrett of Manchester, which are preserved in the Chetham Library. "Near Ordsall Hall, once a seat of the Radcliffes, in a lane leading to it upon the left hand, almost facing Hulme Hall, is a rocky cell. Tradition says it was once much larger,

followed has been related by historians. It was not unusual for a Saxon temple to contain within it one altar sacred to some deity of the Edda, while another was devoted to the celebration of the Eucharist.

having been destroyed by an earthquake. An old writing in the possession of ———, which describes the boundaries of a certain portion of land thereabouts, says ‘ By Worden’s Ford and Worden’s Den.’ Worden’s, or Woden’s Ford, is a paved causeway across the River Irwell, but now lost. Tradition says that the den was the woody habitation of the Priest or Priests of Odin, perhaps from its proximity to Castle Field. The cave was once of much larger extent. What remains of it is about six feet high, and the length of the whole twenty-two yards. At the south end, near a great tree, is a cavity about three feet wide, and resembling an oven ; and near the middle is another excavation, not so deep in the rock as the former. The northern extremity of the margin of the rock, just above the surface of the earth, is ornamented with a sort of irregular Gothic tracery, and gently curves so as to form a cavity of above double the size of the former recesses. The trees which now grow over the top with their spreading branches compose a verdant roof, and cast a shady, but, to an admirer of these fragments, a pleasing gloom over the whole scene. Having been a place in the Saxon times devoted to pagan superstition, it again presents itself under the character of a spot dedicated to the retirement and devotion of a professor of Christianity. On one part of the rock much labour has been bestowed in ornamenting it with rude characters, which have been called *Runic*, but these plainly appear, upon close inspection, to be the letters of J. H. S. the Latin initials of Jesus the Saviour of Men, in a rude church text. The above letters show themselves in three or four places, and in one part the letters are each about three feet long. Some few shields, ornamented with crosses, may be seen in different places wrought upon the rock. Near the south end are the faint remains of a shield, with the likeness of a sword handle near it. At what period of time a change of worship and change of inhabitants happened here I cannot say. Tracings and letters are supposed to be about the time of King Henry the V. or VI., when almost every place dedicated to religion was ornamented with the symbolic letters of Jesus Christ.

“ Here there is a portion of ground lying near Woden’s den, called Oldfield, generally supposed to signify by the word *old* a place of antiquity ; but in an old writing of several centuries back which I have seen, it is there called *Houldfield*, which imports a place of strength and security, perhaps the allotted ground where such prisoners of war were confined, as the priests had chosen out as victims for sacrifice.” — “ Different extremities of Edenfield are named the Troughs of Woden.”

This is the description of Mr Barrett written in the year 1780. It is very remarkable that the place was not noticed by the Reverend Mr Whittaker. But this admits of an easy explanation. Mr Barrett has observed, that “ the range of rock is all along shaded with overhanging bushes, which much obscure the place from the notice of passengers.”

There is only one objection to Mr Barrett’s description of the Cave of Ordsall, that nothing but a very ardent antiquarian fancy could detect amidst the rude carvings, the initial letters J. H. S. ; the tracings are therefore, in my opinion, of far greater antiquity than the reign of Henry V.

It is to be lamented that this most striking memorial of the ancient worship paid to Odin, and of the subsequent conversion of a pagan cave into a Christian temple, should now be completely effaced. I revisited the spot, with which I had been in my boyhood familiar, in the summer of

Unfortunately for the early spread of the Gospel, King Edwin lost his life A. D. 633. while contending against the Mercians and the Cambro-Britains. The Christian instructors of Northumbria were then obliged to fly from the rapacity of the victors, and seek for refuge in other parts of the kingdom, while the converts easily relapsed into their former state of idolatry. But Northumbria was afterwards liberated by Oswald, a descendant of the rightful kings of that country. In his A. D. 635. flight to Scotland he had been taught the Christian religion by the monks of Hii; and having sent to them for a supply of missionaries, the Church of Northumbria acquired from him a greater state of stability. Christianity being also patronized by the wealthiest rulers of the land, some of the choicest estates were given to the support of the church. The lands in Lancashire between the Mersey and the Ribble were very early possessed by Thegns, "a species of nobility," as Mr Turner in his History of the Anglo-Saxons has defined them, "peculiar to these ancient times,—whose rank was attainable by all, even by the servile;—whose title was apparently attached to landed property, and descended with it;—and whose essential qualification was the proprietorship of territory." One of these Thegns possessed Manigceastre, as well as a considerable district of country around it; it was therefore most probably to him alone that the Kirk-man was indebted for the carucate of land recorded in the dom-boc. The estate bequeathed was situated immediately contiguous to the Den of Woden, converted into a Christian Temple, its medium of communication having been the shallow passage across the river Irwell, which, before the channel was deepened for navigation, had borne the name of Woden's Ford. It formed an islet named a Holme or Hulme, the appellation which the township now on its site bears at the present day. In old deeds it is more explicitly named THE KIRKMAN'S HULME. Traces of the streams by which the insularity was formed are still discernible. The Hulme or islet was constituted partly by the waters which flow in the vicinity of Mancastle, such as the Medlock, Cornebrook, and the expansions of the Tib, a current now nearly obliterated, and partly by the broader river of the Irwell, in which these minor streams were lost.

In proportion as Christianity prevailed, the temples dedicated to Odin were 1823, but found that the owner of the ground had completely removed every vestige of the figures, and otherwise defaced the cave, with the provident view of saving his grounds from antiquarian trespasses. This is a sort of taste which can only be paralleled with the destruction of Arthur's Oven in Scotland, and Robin of Redesdale in Northumberland,—profanities that have invoked from a correspondent of the learned Dr Dryasdust a malediction which I am unwilling to repeat.—See the *Dedicatory Epistle to Ivanhoe*.

gradually abandoned, and churches which had never been polluted by idolatrous sacrifices were erected in their room. Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, exhorted the Thegns to erect and endow a competent number of churches within the precincts of their estates, and, with the view of stimulating their industry, he promised to secure to them and their heirs the right of patronage. At this period, then, it is highly probable that the church of St Michael, which occurs in the Domesday Book, was first erected.^s Its consecration to a calendared saint was considered essential, being calculated to inspire a greater degree of reverence ;—indeed, without this preliminary ceremony no temple could be used for divine offices. An annual festivos commemoration of the event named a wake or fair followed. This is still kept up in the immediate vicinity of Mancastle, where the church is supposed to have stood,^h although not a vestige of the ecclesiastical

^s Mr Whittaker has supposed that the church of St Michael, mentioned in the Domesday Book as one of the two ecclesiastical buildings existing in Manchester in the time of the Conqueror, was indebted for its origin to the Christian missionaries who preached to the Roman Britons. On this hypothesis his inference is natural enough, that it would be resorted to by the early Saxon converts. But, unfortunately for this antiquary's speculations, there is an equal, if not far greater probability, that the church was founded at a much later period. Mr Whittaker has likewise speculated upon the construction of this early ecclesiastical building. But the discussion is an uninteresting one. The architecture of both the Britons and early Saxons was so barbarous, that it is perfectly immaterial to the historian whether the Saxons upon the dawn of Christianity repaired to some old neglected hovel which had been used as a British church, or erected a new edifice, equally rude, for themselves. The palace of the King of Northumbria was at this time nothing more than a large hall, built of unwrought stone or turf, with two opposite openings for doors, the roof being composed of branches of trees covered with straw or reeds, the hearth being placed in the middle of the floor, and an aperture in the centre of the roof for the transmission of the smoke :—what then is to be expected from the ecclesiastical buildings of the same rude period ? Ancient writers inform us that the first Anglo-Saxon churches were, like those of the Britons who preceded them, constructed of wood or unwrought stone, and covered over with reeds or straw.

^h So named from the Saxon *Feria*, signifying a holiday. The holiday of the church was again named a *wake*, *vigil*, or *eve*, owing to the evening preceding a holiday being esteemed a part of it, when the services to the tutelar saint began. And as the new converts were encouraged, with the view of reconciling them to the loss of their pagan festivals, to meet in the church-yard, to erect booths of branches about the church, and to feast in them several days, provisions were naturally required for their entertainment. Little traders were thus induced to resort to these feasts for the purpose of vending their wares, until at length a fair began to be considered more in the light of a commercial mart than as a religious feast. Mr Whittaker has observed that "the feast of St Michael was not then, as it now is, placed towards the rear of the year. It was near the front of it, and very nigh to Easter. For the plough-alms are ordered by the council of Ænham

edifice, whence the custom has originated, now remains.¹ The church and parish of Manigceastre then became included in the diocese of York.¹

But Theodore not only prevailed upon the Saxon rulers to increase the number of churches in the country,—he likewise summoned a council of the English bishops, with their chief clergy, to meet him at Hertford, for the purpose of dividing too large bishoprics, of distributing each diocese into a proportionate number of churches, and of allotting each to the care of a resident clergyman. For the distribution of every diocese into parishes we are likewise indebted to this active prelate. All prior ecclesiastical boundaries had been found to be vague and indeterminate. Mr Whittaker has very properly remarked, that “as dioceses had been previously made commensurate with provinces, in like manner, parishes would now be made commensurate with baronies, the church being in the centre of them.”² The Thegn-land, and consequently the parish of Manchester, was origi-

in 1011 to be discharged within fifteen days after Easter, by the laws of Ethelrid more determinately on St Michael's day, and by the constitutions of Canute, the successor of Ethelrid, on the fifteenth day after Easter. In these days, therefore, Michaelmas was always within fifteen days, and was actually on the fifteenth after Easter Sunday; and on this day was the fair of Aldport originally celebrated. But as Aldport decayed, and the new town arose, the mart naturally lost its importance. It was still, however, observed as a festivity for the servants, under its former appellation of a fair, and would be so as long as St Michael's day continued a festival of the church and a day of vacation from labour. And, when this was abolished at the Reformation, that was naturally adjourned to the time on which it is now kept, the neighbouring holidays of Easter.”

¹ The evidence adduced by Mr Whittaker to show that St Michael's church was originally built in the immediate vicinity of Mancastle, where the Saxon thegn to whom it devolved would naturally take up his residence, is very satisfactory. I remember to have heard some years ago of human bones having been found in Aldport, indicative of the cemetery which, in very early times, was attached to the churches of our ancestors. If I do not forget, the discovery was made upon the occasion of stone pipes having been laid in the vicinity of Knott Mill.

² “The Saxons,” says Mr Whittaker, “like the Britons, had no city pre-eminent over the rest, and the general metropolis of the provinces would naturally, therefore, like them, have acknowledged no archiepiscopal authority. But the devotion of the converts to their apostle conferred the pre-eminence on him, and the compliment paid to the person was continued to the See of Augustine. And Canterbury was formally appointed the ecclesiastical metropolis of the nation. The chair of York was afterwards invested with the same privileges. And, on the speedy multiplication of dioceses in Northumbria, it began to exercise the same powers. In this division of the Northumbrian kingdom the south of Lancashire continued a member, not only of the province, but the diocese of York, as the north of it did to the later ages.”—*Whittaker's Manchester*, Vol. II. p. 378.

³ “When a parish had been formed,” remarks Whittaker, “it was assigned to a priest, and hence was named a priestshire; and after Theodore had introduced into England the practice of auri-

nally very large, extending over the present township and parish of Assheton.¹ The whole," adds this historian, "was skirted by the parishes of Eccles and Flixton on the west, and washed by the currents of the Mersey and Tame on the south; it reached up to the hills of Saddleworth on the east, and bordered up to the parish of Prestwich to the north. It was a level but irregular area of fifty-five or sixty miles in circumference; the longest diameter, crossing from east to west, and being about twelve or thirteen in extent, and the shortest, running from south-west to north-east, and being about seven and a half. The town was situated not exactly in the centre, but near the northern and western margins of it, the boundaries of Prestwich ranging within three miles, and those of Eccles within one of the town; and the limits of Flixton, Cheadle, Stockport, and Rochdale, lying at the distance of five, eight, and eleven from it."^m

Manchester was 180 years under the dominion of the Saxons.^a At length

cular confession, the priest, who was the general confessor or shrift of his own proper district, gave his own recent appellation to the parish under him, which was also denominated a shriftshire."

¹ Whittaker's *History of Manchester*, 4to, Vol. II: p. 375.

^m At this period the Anglo-Saxon church began to enjoy a state of comparative tranquillity. Each thegn could boast of having upon his lands a kirk, to which was attached a manse. "The requisites to constitute this dignity," observes Mr Turner in his *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, "were the possession of five hides of land, a judicial seat at the burgh-gate, a distinct office or station in the king's hall, by which was probably meant a seat in the Witenagemot, a kitchen, a church, and a bell-house."—Besides the donations of land by which the church was supported, there was the institution of tithes, which, from being at first voluntary, was, in the sixth and seventh centuries, exacted as a debt. Being partitioned into three shares, it was distributed to the church, the rector, and the poor. Several other charities were likewise converted into obligations, as the plough-alms, which consisted of one silver penny for every hide of arable land, this due being collected at Easter; the Kirkshot, which was a tax payable at Martinmas for the house which each individual occupied the preceding Christmas; the *Leot-shot*, which consisted of a certain quantity of wax discharged from each hide of land of the value of one silver penny, being paid thrice in the year, namely, at Candlemas, the vigil of Easter, and All Saints:—the *Soul-shot*, or burial fee, was an occasional support. Oblations were necessarily uncertain. Regarding the *leot-shot*, Mr Whittaker has observed, that "this particularly remains in our own parish at present, being a half-penny from each house, and denominated the wax-money; a right," he indignantly adds, "that has been impertinently endeavoured to be discredited among us, but which results from more express laws, and is founded on more ancient prescription than half the just demands in the kingdom."—Whittaker's *History of Manchester*, 4to. Vol. II. p. 433.

^a It may be worth while noticing, that about A. D. 689 Manchester was the temporary residence of Ina, king of Wessex, and Ethelburga his queen. I find the authorities for this information given in Mr Ormrod's *Cheshire*. It is stated, that "about A. D. 689 Ivor and Henyr, sons of

Northumbria began to suffer from the invasion of the Danes and other Northmen. ° Wearied eventually with the fruitless resistance of nearly a century to incessant eruptions of these hordes of pirates, the province cheerfully submitted to the government and protection of Egbert, the uniter of the kingdoms of the octarchy. After Northumbria had thus fallen under the dominion of the West-Saxons, "the south of Lancashire and the parish of Manchester," observes Mr Whitaker, "were dissevered from the diocese and province of York, and were annexed to the province of Canterbury, and the diocese of Litchfield."

In the reign of Ethelrid, a succeeding monarch, the Northmen, by a decisive action fought at York, acquired possession of Northumbria, when Manigceastre A. D. 870. was overrun by a horde of these plunderers, its castle having been seized, and its dwellings nearly destroyed. During these successive eruptions most of the Christian churches were pillaged and burnt, while the worship of Odin and the charms and incantations of magic were restored. All lands were likewise subject to a tax named Dane-geld, which was paid to the Danes as a tribute for their forbearance.

The Danes of Northumberland having next begun to encroach beyond the borders of Mercia, Edward the elder appointed his sister, the famous Elfeda, to the government of that province; and, among many other places of defence, this Lady built a castle at Runcorn, upon the mouth of the Mersey, then called "the River of Mercia." Her death induced Edward to take the dominion of Mercia into his own hands, which he so fortified that the Danes were kept in the great-

the daughter of Cadwallader, are said to have landed from Ireland, and, with the assistance of two kings of Wales, to have wasted the province of Chester, and to have demanded of the Saxon kings the countries from which they wrongfully expelled their parents, but experienced two sanguinary defeats from the Saxons, commanded by Ina, king of Wessex."—"After this," adds the chronicle quoted by Lhuyd, "Ina departed himself with Adelard his cousin to Queen Ethelburga, wife of Ina, being then at Manchester, and continued there almost three months."

° In the collections of Mr Greswell there is the following notice:—"The inhabitants of Manchester are said to have behaved themselves valiantly against the Danes when they landed about A. D. 869." He then quotes a tradition from an old MS. in the possession (A. D. 1808) of the Reverend J. Brooke, A. M. "There is now to be seen in Denton, Gorton, Birch, &c. a ditch, called *Nicko* or *Micko ditch*, which (tradition says) was made in one night from Ashton moss to Ouse moss, such a number of men being appointed to the work as to cast up each the length of himself, in order to entrench themselves from the Danes, then invading England. The land on one side of the ditch is called *Danes* to this day; and the place in Gorton called *Winding* hill is said to take its name from the Britons winding or going round to drive off the Danes. The township of Redditch (adjoining to Gorton and Denton) is said to take its name from the water in this ditch, after the engagement, being red."

est awe. He also, in the year 920, invaded the south of Lancashire with an army of Mercians, and, wresting from the Danes the town of Manchester, he fortified the castle with a garrison of his own soldiers. It is likewise stated by historians, that, because the inhabitants of Manchester had behaved themselves manfully in the British wars, he repaired the town beyond the river Mersey in Lancashire, accounted then the south-east of Northumberland."^p

But the peace of this province was far from being confirmed. The Northumbrian Danes, at times under subjection to the Saxons, but more frequently in a state of rebellion, continued, during many reigns, to disturb the peace of England. In these distracted times Manchester, then a frontier town between the Mercians and Northumbrians, often, from mutual incursions, experienced a
 A. D. 1016. change of masters. At length Canute or Knute, the Danish chief, was acknowledged by Edmund Ironside sovereign from right of conquest over the provinces of Northumbria, Mercia, and East Anglia. He would then, according to the Saxon usage, have a property vested in all or most of the manors of the county,—a stipulated rent and personal services being exigible from them, for which the thegns who held them were made responsible.^q Among the nume-

^p In Tyrrel's *History of England*, (Vol. I. B. v.) it is stated, that A. D. 924 King Edward carried his army about the end of autumn to Thælwæle, (i. e. Thelwall upon the Mersey, in Cheshire, which is supposed to have been so called from its being originally encompassed with a wall made of the trunks of trees, called in the Saxon tongue Thæl,) when he ordered that town to be repaired; and he commanded another part of his forces, while he remained there, to march out of Mercia to Manigceastre (now Manchester) in the kingdom of Northumberland, and ordered to be rebuilt and strengthened with a garrison; or, as Fabian in his *Chronicle* expresses it, "this noble Prince Edward repaired the city of Manchester that sore was defaced by the wars of the Danes."—For this quotation I am indebted to the late Mr Greswell's *Collections*.

^q In fact, the whole lands of the county were supposed to be the property of the king; and while the thegn was made accountable to the royal treasury for certain pecuniary duties and personal services arising from the estate committed to his charge, a reservation was made to him of its principal emoluments, which were usually most ample. Mr Whittaker has conceived that the revenue of the thegn of Manigceastre (whom he incorrectly styles the *baron* of Manchester) arose from the same source as that of the king. "He received," says this author, "his heriots, reliefs, and escheats from his tenants in general, and levied his tolls, his returns in kind, and his payments in money,—upon his demesne ones in particular. These principally composed the baronial as well as the royal income. And the whole would be considerably enlarged by the mulcts imposed in his courts, the three capital aids, and the occasional valliages; though for the benefit of the subject it was providently ordered that he could not exact these last without a special writ from the sovereign."—In an ensuing reign, that of Edward the Confessor, we learn that the king held under him the whole of the Hundred of Salford, while Radcliffe was considered as forming the

rous thegns of the Hundred of Salford, the one who dwelt in Manigceastre must have held the rank of the king's thegn. He enjoyed the privilege of attending his sovereign in his expeditions, and of having under him a lesser or inferior thegn, whose residence was in the Berewick of Assheton. At this time, owing to the unremitting conflicts which had for many years occurred between the Northumbrians and the Danes, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the castle of Manigceastre had received considerable injury. Such was most probably the sole cause that first led to the removal of the town from its more ancient site, near the Medlock, to the ground which it now occupies in the vicinity of the present Market-cross.¹ The thegn would find it convenient to erect

royal demesnes or manor. The lands of the Hundred were only in part free from the imposition of Dane-geld. In the Dom-boc the conditions on which the lands of Lancashire were held are very perspicuously stated. "This manor of *Derbie*, (West Derby,) with the hides above-mentioned, paid King *Edward* for rent twenty-six pound two shillings. Of these, three hides were exempt, the rent of which was granted to the thanes that held them; these paid four pounds, fourteen shillings, and eight pence.

"All these thanes were accustomed to pay two ores of pennies for each carucate of land; and by custom they built the king's houses with their appurtenances, as the villains did; and at the fisheries, and at the kays and stands, the fences and stalls in the wood; and whosoever did not attend this service when he ought was fined two shillings, and afterwards was obliged to attend and to work till the business was completed: every one of them, moreover, sent their reapers for one day in August to cut the king's corn, and, if he failed, he was amerced in two shillings."—"The men of the manor of Salford did not work as customary for the king at the hall, nor did they reap in August; they only made one hay" (that is, either a fenced enclosure, or a toil for deer) "in the wood. They were subject to the same fines and amercements as other superior manors."—Translation from the Dom-boc by the Reverend Mr Bawdwen.—See *Gregson's Lancaster*, p. 45.

In Manigceastre one of the sources of emolument most probably consisted in the obligation to grind at the king's mill. An ancient structure of this kind, adjoining Castle Field, long bore the name of Knute's, or Canute's mill, which designation is now corrupted into the name of Knott Mill.

¹ Mr Whittaker removes Manchester from the banks of the Medlock to those of the Irwell so early as the year 627, without giving any explanation for so doing, except that "the sun of the town was beginning to decline." The contrary, however, was the truth. Nearly three hundred years after the period he alludes to, the old town had acquired a rank which it had never before possessed. In the year 920, Edward the Elder rebuilt, with great expence, the fort of Manchester, situated in Castle Field, and even repaired the town. It is very unlikely, therefore, that the natives would be so imprudent as to prefer at that time, for their habitations, a distant site for their town, by which they would be deprived of the protection that the contiguity to so strong a fortress as that of Mancastle afforded. In short, the old town of Manchester would not be abandoned until the Danes had made it, for upwards of a century, the constant scene of their devastation and

a new fortress, named by the Northmen a burg, on the far better defended bank, where the College and Collegiate Church at present stand.' Here he would hold his greater and lesser leet,' awarding to offenders the mulct, the pillory, the tumbrel, or the gallows.' But he had now, for the convenience of traffic,

slaughter ;—and when they had nearly destroyed Mancastle, it would be very natural for the Saxon natives to endeavour to select for themselves a stronger situation, on which another fortress might be built. Such a superiority the banks of the Irk and the Irwell would promise ; and hence may be explained the reason why the town was removed to this site, under the protection of a burg or fortress, defended on each side by steep banks, by the confluence of two rivers, and by an artificial fosse. The date of this event cannot, I think, have taken place much earlier than half a century previous to the Norman conquest.

' This spot, comprising an area of twelve statute acres and a half, was secured on the west by the Irwell, (along the banks of which the Roman Road to Ribchester once glided,) and on the north by the confluence of the River Irk ; by the aid, therefore, of a fosse carried on in an easterly and southerly direction through a line of deep alluvium, so as to occasionally pierce the solid rock, and deepened so as to admit on the north-east the waters of the Irk, and to allow them to join those of the Irwell on the south-west, the site was completely insulated. The spot where the burg or fort appears to have stood was on the north-west angle of this area, an additional ditch, cut in a direction from the River Irk to the large fosse, having been added for greater protection. The entrance to this fortified site was by a draw or hanging bridge, situated on the south, which was carried over the great fosse ; while, adjoining to it, the current of water which had been conducted through the ditch served to turn an ancient mill. The newer town of Manchester being thus possessed of an efficient place of defence, became entitled to the name of a borough (burg) or borough-town ; for, owing to a fortress having been, from necessity, an usual appendage to any assemblage of Saxon dwellings collected together in one spot, the simple name of *burg* had long signified either a strong hold separately, or in a collective sense, the town which was built under the covert of its walls. In this early period a few low huts, constructed of timber, of mud, or of boulder stones, and furnished with roofs of turf or straw, the whole being grouped together in the vicinity of a simple tower or mural shell, (generally inclining to a circular form, like the keep of Coningsburgh Castle in Yorkshire,) were the component parts of a Saxon borough.

' The thegn who occupied the fortress of Manigceastre would possess a jurisdiction over his extensive thegn-land. He held twice a-year his greater leet, where all violations of the king's peace were brought into court, while his lesser leet was summoned every four weeks for the adjudication of offences against his own peace as the King's thegn.

' The pillory probably stood in very ancient times near its late site in the market-place. The site where the tumbrel or cucking-stool was used was a large collection of waters that was denominated Pool, which in later times gave the name of the Pool-house and the Pool-fold to a contiguous building and enclosure. " There was a large field," says Mr Whittaker, " which, seventy years ago, reached up from the site of the old pool to the present course of Tib-lane, and is now covered over with buildings. This had, therefore, the Great pool formerly, as it has Pool-fold at present, at one extremity of it, and at that which is nearest to the town. And, what

to encourage a settlement in the new borough. It is probable, therefore, that from this period we must date the privileges which were granted to residents. Such as occupied burgages were each required to annually pay the thegn the small sum of twelve pence, for which they enjoyed the privilege of having all their causes, except in charges of a felonious nature, determined by a Gerefa, or Reeve, in courts of their own.* St Michael's church in Aldporte or Aldporton (for so

is very remarkable, it was popularly named to the period of the present erections, and is called in all the records that mention it, the Plungeon, or Plunging Field. The street that now runs from the southern angle of pool-fold into Tiblane was then denominated Plungeon Lane."—The Ducking-stool, adds this writer, "remained within these few years an open bottomed chair of wood, placed upon the end of a long pole, and suspended over the water of Daubholes." A drawing of it, as it was formerly used in Manchester, is to be found among the manuscripts of the late Mr Barrett, preserved in the Chetham Library. Mr Whittaker, with all his wonted enthusiasm, next attempted to discover the site of the ancient furcæ, or gallows, of Manchester, but was unsuccessful. That of Salford, still named Gallows-meadows, he fixes at the fifth and sixth enclosures in the footpath along the Irwell, from Boat-house-lane towards the lock, and facing the great Hulme meadow on the other side of the current."

* A reeve is to be found mentioned in the laws of most of the northern nations of Europe. In an article of the *Edinburgh Review* on the ancient laws and constitutions of the Frisons, (see Vol. XXXII. p. 1.) I find the functions of the reeve of the hamlet described in such a manner as to nearly identify him with the ancient burgh-reeve of Manchester. "The meene-mente, or land owners of every hamlet, chose their own *redieva*, or *reeve*, whose authority was confined to the little district which elected him. The landowners of all the hamlets contained in each *fardingdela* or quarter, assembled or resolved themselves in a quarter *liodthing*, where they elected a capital *redieva*, the chief judicial officer of the quarter, who held his office during a year, and who was also the representative or deputy of the meene-mente in the general council or parliament of Friesland. These capital reeves decided matters of their own authority,—subject, however, to an appeal to the *Smela Warf*, or sessions, or full bench of the reeves of the shire; and from this court a second appeal could be had to the meene-mente assembled in the *liodthing* or *bodthing*."

Among the Anglo-Saxons a reeve was to be found in every borough. At Manigceastre he corresponded in point of rank with the Wic-gerefa, mentioned in the Saxon chronicle, before whom purchases within a borough were wont to be made, unless the parties had good witnesses,—or with the Porte-gerefa, who was required to witness all purchases without the gate, unless other unimpeachable persons were present. He was also a judicial officer presiding at the porteman-mote and the lagh-mote of the burgesses of Manigceastre. The porteman-mote was held three or four times a-year. Every burgess owed to it suit and service; and if he could not attend himself, he was obliged to send his wife or eldest son. The precise difference between the functions of the porteman-mote and lagh-mote it is not easy to determine. At the former, it is probable that public municipal regulations were canvassed, and that law causes were decided in which the burgesses and strangers who dwelt without the borough were parties; while at the latter, (the

the old town near Mancastle was afterwards named,) would now be at an inconvenient distance from the newer town, and hence the selection of the ground lying to the south or south-west of the present market-place as a site for another kirk, which, according to tradition, was built of wood,² and, according to the Dom-boc, was dedicated to our lady.⁷ A cemetery was added⁸

lagh-mote,) which was held every three weeks or month for the greater expediting of justice, the adjudication was restricted to suits between burgess and burgess.

² With regard to the construction of this ancient church, it was probably formed of split oak, according to a method which was taught the Anglo-Saxons by the Irish missionaries. "In the erection of their churches," says Lingard in his History of the Anglo-Saxons, "the converts followed the method of the countries from which their teachers came. The Irish missionaries taught them to build churches of split oak, which Bede distinguishes by the name of the Irish method, and which appears to have kept its ground in Ireland during several centuries. Of this method of building, a curious specimen still remains in Greenstead church, in the county of Essex. The walls are formed of the trunks of oaks six feet high sawed in half. Being cut away at the bottom into a tenon, they are inserted into a groove cut in a horizontal piece of timber, which serves as the base sustainment. A second horizontal square timber, by way of entablature, grooved like the first, receives the ridges of the trunks, which stand with their sawed faces inwards, and within one inch of each other. At the gable end the trunks rise gradually pediment-ways to the height of fourteen feet. The interstices between the trunks admitted the light; but we find from Bede that they were sometimes filled with straw: others nailed skins against them. Eadbert of Lindisfarne covered them entirely with lead."

⁷ Mr Whittaker, who has assigned to the church of St Michael a date coeval with the Roman Britons, could not possibly, after he had removed the old town of Manchester to a newer site so early as the year 627, refrain from making St Mary's one of the oldest of the Anglo-Saxons churches. In fact, throughout nearly the whole of his ecclesiastical researches which relate to Manchester, he has given to its religious institutions a date earlier than they can possibly lay claim to of several centuries.

⁸ Mr Whittaker's identification of Aca's Field, (improperly named Acres Field,) as it existed in 1775, with the cemetery of St Mary's church, is highly curious. "There was a large close immediately adjoining to the town as late as the beginning of the present century, which was denominated Acres Field. It spread at that time over the present Acres Square, its two streets at the sides, its four at the angles, and the inclosure of St Anne's church; and it originally extended over the site of all the buildings that now intervene between the exchange and the square, as the name of Acres Court to the narrow passage about the centre testifies. This ground, I suppose, would be about six statute acres and a half in compass, and was the original church-yard of the town. The church, situated at the centre of it, would stand near the north-eastern side of the square; and the northern fence of the cemetery abutted just (I suppose) as the houses do at present, upon the eastern opening of St Mary's gate, and on the very site of the corner house, and answering to the line of the street, was the original way into the church-yard. This avenue was probably placed, not leading directly to the centre, but pointing only to the north-west angle

where an annual fair was appointed to be held ;^a the tolls of the mart being exacted in the narrow entrance, named Toll-Lane, which communicated with that portion of the Roman road (now named Deansgate) that led from Mancunium to Ribchester.^b Farther north, another track, which still retains its designation of

of this extensive inclosure, that it might serve more commodiously for the baron's road, as well as the rector's, from the Deansgate to it. And, on raising the present church in Acres Square, vast quantities of bones were dug up, deposited in their cells, and discovered every where, as the foundations were carried along, about two yards deep in the ground."—*History of Manchester*, 4to, Vol. II. p. 412.—I also find a note in the MSS. of the late Mr Barrett, stating that, when the floor of the shop belonging to Mr Newton, long a bookseller in Manchester, residing on the site of the present new exchange, was taken up, he saw a brick vault in which human bones had been deposited.—Mr Greswell has likewise observed that an ancient Gothic arch was discovered on the south side of St Marysgate, remains of which were to be seen in a wine vault, formerly occupied by Mr Ridings.

^a Mr Whittaker, on the subject of the ancient fair of St Mary, remarks, "The fair of St Michael is kept to this hour at the site of the Old Town, in the neighbourhood of the Roman station, and along the course of Aldport-lane. That of St Mary is equally kept on its original ground, the place of the ancient church-yard, and the area of Acres Field ; both wakes and fairs having been generally celebrated in church-yards as late as the thirteenth century."—"Among the many festivals of the blessed virgin, one was denominated the Assumption of St Mary, and distinguished over the rest by the preeminent title of St Mary's Feast. This was observed in time of harvest, as a law of Alfred mentions some days of grace conceded to free servants in harvest-time, being all the week before St Mary's mass ; and it was the fifteenth of August. The neighbouring church of Eccles being equally dedicated with our own to the Virgin Mary, its wake is observed on that day at present if it happens to be a Sunday, and, if not, on the Sunday immediately following it ; and on the fifteenth of August no doubt, Acres fair was regularly kept, from its early institution in the seventh century, to the sixth of Henry III. From the Saxon mode of reckoning the hours, the evening preceding a holiday was actually esteemed a part of it, and therefore observed equally with it. And in the reign of Edgar the festivity of the holiday began to be extended backwards into the eve. In a short time afterwards the vigil would bear its full share of the feasting. And, as the fair occasioned by the latter would naturally be commensurate with it in duration, those of Aldport and the New Town, and all others, were therefore continued for a couple of days."—"Nearly half the south of Lancashire must have repaired to the marts of Manchester. And this was the reason of that formal procession which is still made to the fair, and of that public proclamation which is still issued in Acres Square and the market-place."—Mr Whittaker then proceeds to enumerate the persons who, on the second day, formed the procession ; but his description applies rather to the Norman than to the Saxon government of the burgh. There was no doubt present the thegn, the clergy, and the burgesses, while the reeve, who was the justiciary of the tithing, proclaimed peace and immunity, during the continuance of the fair, from all arrests.—See *Whittaker's History of Manchester*, 4to, Vol. II. p. 447 and 448.

^b Mr Whittaker supposes that when Aca's Field was the area of the church, the commodities

St Marysgate, branched off at right angles from the Roman Road, so as to form a more direct approach to the church.^c Between the cemetery and the fosse or ditch, now styled Hanging Ditch, a site for the new market was selected, where was reared a cross,^d while two new roads diverged from it, one of which led to the mill,^e and another to the smith's forge.^f The churches of St Mary and St Michael were then probably united under one ministry, their respective precincts affording a commensurate extent of sanctuary and asylum for such as sought to evade the penalties of civil justice.^g

vended in it could never have been subject to the baronial toll, but paid their little customs to the rector.

^c "St Mary's church," says Mr Whittaker, "stood, according to tradition, at the termination of St Marysgate, at the eastern end of the avenue."

^d "The corner of St Marysgate," says the same writer, "had reached as far as it now reaches to the east before the market-place was laid out. And this circumstance occasioned that large projection of buildings which now comes forward into the original area of it, and forms the great angle at the upper end of Smithy-Door."—*History of Manchester*, 4to, Vol. I. p. 410.

^e "The town not being able to extend upon the southern side of the town, because of the church and its inclosures, naturally took its course to the north. The lane of the old Millgate would first invite it down to the mill erected on the southern verge of the streamlet that was turned from the Irke to the Irwell."—*Ibid*, Vol. I. p. 410.

^f "Owing to the necessary extension of the town northwards, another street would be formed parallel with the Millgate and Deansgate; and a blacksmith first erecting his forge at the bottom of it, and near the bold bank of the streamlet, the steep was denominated, as it is still called, the Smithy-Bank, and the road leading to it from the market-place the Smithy-Door.—*Ibid*, Vol. II. p. 410.

^g The usual sanctuary afforded by churches and their precincts became in time very injurious to the thriving state of Manchester, as will be shown hereafter. The custom was certainly one of great antiquity. The asyla of altars and temples, of tombs or statues, are well known to have existed even in pagan times. The Jews even had their six cities of refuge. In the reign of Constantine, the privilege began to be enjoyed by the Christian churches, at which time the altar only, and the inward fabric of the church, were a place of refuge. But afterwards the whole precincts, nay, even the sepulchres of the dead, were comprehended in that privilege. The original object, also, of these asyla was in the end perverted. So far from being a refuge for the innocent, the injured, and the oppressed, the protection was granted to malefactors flying from the pursuit of justice. The necessity of the interference of legal statutes became therefore obvious. This right was refused to public debtors, to Jews pretending to turn Christians for sinister purposes, to heretics, fugitive slaves, murderers, or conspirators. But the period of time to which it extended did not meet with the same check. Alfred limited the right of asylum to three days, at the expiration of which the offender might be demanded by the civil law. The three days were in later times successively extended to a week, to nine days, and lastly, to an indefinite period, which might be shortened or protracted at the discretion of the sovereign. In all instances, however, justice was retarded, and too often evaded.

We now draw near one of the most interesting events of English history. On the 14th October, William of Normandy, by his decisive battle fought at **Hast-** A.D. 1066.
ings, doomed the whole of England to a change of masters. He partitioned its lands among his followers, granting to Roger de Poictu, the third son of Roger de Montgomery, various manors in the counties of York, Lincoln, Derby, and Nottingham, and along with these rich bequests the hundreds of Amounderness, Furness, and Lonsdale, in Lancashire, and all the tract of country lying between the rivers Mersey and Ribble. The latter was of old named "Christis crofte," in allusion to an ancient prophecy that, in some troublesome period, it would prove a place of security :

When all England is aloft,
Hale are they that are in Christis croft :—
And where should Christis croft be,
But between Ribble and Mersey ?

Soon after William the Conqueror had been confirmed in the possession of his crown, Roger de Poictu provided for his followers and friends by making re-grants to them of various manors, which were to be held on condition of finding arms and men to be placed under his command, for the use of the king. In the hundred of Salford, the soldiers (*milites*) who held of him were, according to the record of the Domesday-book, five in number. Among these, Nigel the progenitor of the barons of Halton and Widness was the most considerable possessor. He held three hides and half a carucate of land, in which share Mancestre was included. The churches of this town, dedicated to St Michael and St Mary, were then confirmed in their possession of a carucate of land free from all duty, with the exception of Dane-geld.^a

About the year 1075, (as we are informed by Godwin,) Peter, bishop of Litchfield, removed his episcopal see to Chester ; but his immediate successor, Robert de Livesey, removed it again to Coventry. The bishop of this diocese was afterwards frequently named the bishop of Chester.

From the date of the conquest, down to a period which comprehends a term of seventy years, we know nothing of the annals of Manchester, more than are included in the general history of the county of Lancaster.¹

^a " Ecclesia Sanctæ Mariæ et ecclesia Sancti Michaelis tenebant in Mamcestre unam carucatam terræ, quietam ab omni consuetudine præter geldum."—*Dom-boc*.

¹ About the year 1081 Roger de Poictu was engaged in building or altering Lancaster Castle, which was intended for a grand baronial mansion. He had at the same time a dispute with the

In the year 1136, Robert, the son of Albert de Greslet, (variously named Albert Grelley, Gredley, or Grelle,) one of Roger de Poictu's followers, who, among other lands in Lincoln, Rutland, and Nottingham, had received the hundred of Blackburn in Lancashire, by joint tenure with Robert Busli, contracted his son and heir Albert Grelley, with Matilda, daughter of William Fitz-Nigel, Baron of Halton, and Constable of Chester; by which marriage the thegn-land of Manigceastre (now called Mancestre or Manchestre,) was inherited by his descendants.* As Manchester was once held by a king's thegn, it was now under a Norman lord, a barony;† and as the baronial residence was at the burg or castle, which had been

king, when the palatine jurisdiction was declared forfeit. In A. D. 1089 he was restored to all his honours. Thirteen years afterwards he engaged in rebellion, joining his brother Bellesme Earl of Arundel and Shrewsbury, in favour of Robert Duke of Normandy. Sustaining a defeat at Tewksbury, he was after the battle deprived of his estates and banished England. The honour of Lancaster then escheated to the crown, and Henry granted it to his nephew Stephen de Blois, who made many new grants of land in the county. In the year 1135 he succeeded to the crown.—Such was the general history of Lancaster in this interval, during which we hear of no events but such as are connected with feudal disputes, which were followed by long wars and bloodshed. Yet these were ultimately favourable to the liberties of England. It has been aptly remarked by Mr Turner, that, when the Anglo-Saxon dynasty prevailed, nearly three-fourths of the population were in a state of slavery, and that nothing could have broken the powerful chains of law and force by which the landed aristocracy held their people in bondage, but such events as the Norman conquest, and the civil wars which it excited and fostered, and in which such numbers of the nobility perished; and also that wise and humane law which directed, that if a slave was not claimed by his lord within a limited period, he should be presumed to be free." (Vol. III. p. 255.) It will be also found, that the government of the church underwent a corresponding improvement.

* Mr Whatton, F. A. S. in his very ingenious observations on the armorial bearing of the town of Manchester, published in the Transactions of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester, has undertaken to prove that Albert Grelle was the *first*, and not the third baron of Manchester, as Kuerden supposed. The question is assuredly a very difficult one; but I am of opinion that the weight of evidence is in favour of Mr Whatton's view. As such I have adopted it in this memoir. The arms mutually borne by the lord and the barony were *Gules, three Bendlets enhanced Or.*

† "In the Domesday survey," remarks Mr Turner in his history of the Anglo-Saxons, many lands are mentioned in several counties, which are called Terra tainorum; the land of the thegns; and they are mentioned also with their milites. I am inclined to believe that the superior thegns were those who were afterwards called Barons, for the laws of Henry the First put the titles as synonymous; and that the next degree of thegns included those who were after the conqueror's time termed knight, because five hides of land were the feudum of a knight, and the thegn of five hides of land is mentioned as that rank of thegn which served the more dignified thegns. These inferior thegns were called middling thegns.

erected on the site of the present College, the name under which this mansion became recognized in old deeds was the Baron's court, or the Baron's hall. Albert Grelley is named in the Testa de Nevill, Albertus Senex. He was a benefactor to the Church of Manchester, and presented to it "in eleemosyna," from his demesnes four oxgangs of land.^m About this time a church is supposed to have been first built at the neighbouring hamlet of Didsbury.ⁿ

Albert, his son, named, in the Testa de Nevill, Albertus Juvenis, was the second baron of Manchester.^o He died in the twenty-eighth year of Henry II. and left for his heir Robert Grelley, who was then only eleven years of age. Several donations of land in Manchester were made by him, among which was a gift to a churchman named Aca, belonging to St Mary's, who is simply termed "Clericus."^p In the sixth year of the reign of Henry III. Robert Grelley gave five marks and one palfrey in consideration of the privilege of holding a fair at his lordship of Manchester for two days until the king should be of age. The site of it was Aca's Field, whence its name of Aca's fair. Five years afterwards the grant was confirmed by

^m In the Testa de Nevil, (See Gregson's Lancaster, App. p. xix. there is the following entry. Albtus Gredle senior dedit Wlurico de Mamcestr' iij. sol' bovāt' tre de dnico suo p. v. sol' 7 annū heredes ej' tenēt illā tram.

Albtus Gredle dedit iij. sol' bovāt' t're ecclie de Mamecestr' in eleem' de dnico.

Ulric of Manchester was a dreng, (vir fortis, strenuus,) that is, a Saxon of power or influence, whom it was politic in the Normans to conciliate by a gift of land. Albert Grelley's donation to the church of Manchester is attributed by Mr Whatton to an ancestor of this baron; but I am unacquainted with the reasons for this supposition.

The same Albert Grelley likewise infeoffed Orme, son of Ailward, in marriage of his daughter Emma, of one knight's fee in Dalton, Parbold and Wrightington, and one carucate of land in Ashton. Orme was the progenitor of the Ashtons.—See the *Testa de Nevil*, *Whittaker's Manchester*, 4to, Vol. II. p. 374, and *Mr Whatton on the Armorial Bearing of Manchester*.

ⁿ "Didsbury Chappel, y^e first Chappel y^e was builded in this parish, was as is supposed erected about this time."—*Hollingworth's Manchester*, MS.

^o It is difficult to say whether it is this Albertus Juvenis or his father who gave to Robert de Bracebrugge two bovats of land in Manchester. "Albertus Gredle dedit Robto de Bracebrugge ij. bovāt' terre de dnico suo de Mamecestr', p. iij. sol' 7 annū."

^p The following grants occur when he came of age. Robertus Gredle qui nunc est, dedit Robto de Buri seniori xiiii. bovāt' tre de dnico suo de Mamecestr' p. servic' di' milit' heredes ejus tenent illam tram.—Idem Robtus dedit Raðo de Emecot ij. bovāt' tre de dnico suo de Mamecestr' p. vi. sol' viii d 7 annū. — Robertus Gredle qui nunc est, dedit Ace Clīco una tram de dnico suo de Mamecestr' p. iii. sol. Idem Ace tenet terrā illam.—The land given to Aca was about 6½ acres. It formed the site of the present St Ann's Square, and its vicinity. It has since been erroneously named *Acres* Field. In my own recollection the fair held on its site was named *Acas* fair, and not *Acres* fair. Aca probably enjoyed the tolls of the mart.

another charter, which allowed the prolongation of the fair to three days yearly, namely, on the vigil and festival of St Matthew.⁴ The object of these grants was to change the old accustomed fair-day to a period more convenient for harvest.⁵

In the fifteenth year of Henry III. Robert Grelley died, and was succeeded by THOMAS GRELLEY, IVth LORD OF MANCHESTER.⁶ Some old writings dated a short time afterwards, show that Manchester was at this time a Deanery. Mr Hollingworth states his knowledge of certain subscriptions in the year 1235, which were J. Decan de Manucestro. E. Jurdan, Capellan ejusd. villæ.

The question, then, now is—at what period was the parish of Manchester first converted into a Deanery? Or, were the functions of the Parson and the Dean originally united in the same individual? To solve this inquiry no direct evidence whatever can be advanced.⁷

⁴ Copies of the grants appear in an appendix to Mr Whatton's *Treatise on the Armorial Bearing of the Town of Manchester*.

⁵ The object of this charter has been well explained by Mr Whittaker. "The feast of St Mary," he observes, "was at the very beginning of the Lancashire harvest. This would be a considerable injury to the lord, since it precluded all application of the land to tillage. To remove the obstruction, and prevent the injury for the future by an alteration of the fair-day, was the great reason assuredly for the baron's application to the government in the reign of Henry the Third, and the conversion of the prescriptive into a chartered fair. By the principles of the Saxon and Norman constitutions, no fair or market could be appointed or transferred without the permission of the sovereign. Henry was then in his minority. But the regent granted a licence in the sixth of that king; and, in the twelfth, the king himself, then a major, confirmed it by a charter. The consideration for the grant is expressly specified in our national records, and was five marks and a palfrey. And the fair was settled above a month later in the year; being transferred from the 14th and 15th of August, the eve and feast of St Mary, to the 20th and 21st of September, the vigil and festival of St Matthew, and the day following."—*Whittaker's Manchester*, 4to, Vol. II. p. 448.

⁶ Thom' Greyley tenz v feoda et di' in Mamecestr' cū soca ex antiq. Testa de Nevill.

⁷ The researches of Mr Whittaker directed to this object, though teeming with valuable information incidental to his labours, amount to sheer conjecture and nothing more. He has attached to the title of DEAN OF MANCHESTER a date of origin nearly six hundred years earlier than can be confirmed by written evidence. But the probability is, that this appellation was given at a comparatively late period. The parish of Manchester must have comprised about the thirteenth century, between thirty or forty townships and hamlets, many of which would be supplied with churches. We can, therefore, easily conceive that, in such an extensive parish, the Bishop of Litchfield would find it expedient to consign a great share of episcopal authority to the presiding rector. But that this was really done prior to the conquest can only be assumed as an hypothesis. Some assistance is afforded to the question by adverting to what actually took place

The various duties which the ancient rural dean of Manchester had to perform have been admirably well summed up by Whittaker. "He ranked higher than rectors, curates, and even the beneficed clergymen of the deanery. He was at first their common confessor. He had a settled jurisdiction over all the clergy and laity in his deanery, and was invested with a coercive authority over the goods and persons of offenders among the former. As a merely ministerial officer, he notified the death of any rector, vicar, or curate, to all the mother churches in his district, and took care to see the stated obsequies performed in each, and repeated in the next convention of his clergy. During the vacancy of any church in his province also, the dean ordered the lands to be cultivated, and was reimbursed the expences by the next incumbent. And he inducted him without a fee. He visited the clergy once a year, his primary object being to examine their demeanour and the conduct of the laity, and to promote the important interests of religion in both. And the second was to inspect the state of the structure and the condition of the furniture in the churches; and keep the ecclesiastical house in good repair. These visitations were made personally to every beneficed clergyman, and he had

in Ireland. Ledwich remarks, "that the archipresbyter in the Roman church was nearly such an officer as the *Periodeutes*, and that about the time of the Norman conquest the archipresbyter was called a rural dean."—"Almost every separate church in Ireland is said to have been held by a bishop. The change of these bishoprics or sees into rural deaneries is shown by the following document:—A. D. 1816.—Constitutions made in the Cathedral church of St Peter and St Paul of Newton, near Athunry, by Simon Rochfort, by the Grace of God Bishop of Meath.—Cardinal Pappo, legate of the Sovereign Pontiff, Eugenius III. having directed in the third general council held at Kells, in Meath, in the year 1152, among other salutary canons, that, on the death of a chorepiscopus or village bishop, or of bishops who possessed small sees in Ireland, archipresbyters or rural deans should be appointed by the diocesan to succeed them, who should superintend the clergy and laity in their respective districts, and that each of their sees should be erected into a rural deanery,—We, in obedience to such regulation, do constitute and appoint, that the churches of Athunry, Kells, Slane, Skrine, and Dunshaglin, being heretofore bishops' sees in Meath, shall hereafter be the heads of rural deaneries; with archipresbyters personally resident therein."—See *Ledwich's Ireland*, p. 82.

In reference to the foregoing document, I shall merely add, that, if at so early a period as before the conquest, the Kirkman, or *persona ecclesie*, resident in the Saxon burgh of Manigceastre, had been actually invested with authority over the clergy in his district, he would most probably have assumed it in the character of an archipresbyter; in which case the change of his clerical title admits of an easy explanation by the general historical evidence which might be produced, that, subsequent to the Norman conquest, the title and functions of the archipresbyter or chorepiscopus were commonly absorbed in those of the Rural Dean. The title of Rural Dean had indeed been long common in France, and seems to have been introduced by the Normans in England from the usages of that country.

right to a procuration from each, or one day's entertainment for himself and his attendants, but these were properly limited by the laws to two horses. He had power to assemble his clergy in chapter, and they were convened in some dioceses every third week, and in others only every month. These chapters took cognizance of most of the common concerns in the deanery, except causes of deprivation, simony, matrimony, and the probate of wills. Even some of these were locally referred to the judicature of the Dean, as the probate of testaments, which bequeath not to the value of forty pounds, is to the present day retained by the Dean of Manchester." In the next place this excellent writer remarks, that "the engraving of the name with the office on the seals of the Manchester Deans proves that the office was a perpetual one, and a dignity for life." *

But we may now return to the annals of the town.

There is much obscurity in that part of our history in which Thomas Grelley is concerned. In the 33d of Henry the III. we find an entry made in the "*Calendarium Rotulorum Chartarum*," as follows :—"Thomas Gredley—Mannecestr' libera waren'," and five years afterwards Manchester and Horwich forest are declared escheat. " In the forty-sixth year, however, of the same reign, the name of Thomas Grelley still occurs, who is said to have left his son Peter the manors of Manchester and Childwall, with the churches of both, and the chapels of Assheton-Hall, and Gerstan belonging to them. But upon an inquisition it was found that the deceased had not infeoffed Peter Grelley his son of the manor of Manchester. Hence, because it was held of the sovereign in *capite* by barony, it was taken into the king's hands. The sheriff had therefore command to seizé it, custody having been granted to Edmund of Lancaster until the full age of Robert, the grandson of Thomas Grelley. * This preference of the claims of Robert Grelley may be explained by the conjecture which has been thrown out,

* Mr Whittaker likewise sums up the ancient functions of the archdeacon, to whom the dean of Manchester was responsible. "The archdeacon ranked immediately under the bishop, and was required to be in deacon's orders."—"He visited every church in the district of deacons committed to his charge at least once a-year, and examined candidates for orders, and assembled synods. He presided in a court that maintained a jurisdiction over all the archdeanery, and from which there lay an appeal to the bishop. At the first participation of the bishopric into archdeaneries, the principal towns of the latter would naturally be constituted the capitals of them; hence, the city of Chester, an ancient Roman colony, would be the metropolis of a jurisdiction of deaneries, and this jurisdiction, anciently extending its influence over the south of Lancashire, would include within it the deaconry of Manchester.

* See the *Calendarium Inquisitionum post mortem*, in *Gregson's Lancaster*, p. 68.

* See Mr Whatton on the *Armorial Bearing of Manchester*.

that Peter Grelley was in orders. This is not improbable, if we consider the number of churches which had been gifted to him by his father. He might have belonged to the fraternity of the Abbey of Stanlawe, removed afterwards to Whalley, having possibly been an abbot of Stanlawe.⁷ This view is countenanced by a gift to the abbot of Whalley, which Robert Grelley is stated to have made after he had come into possession of his estate and honours. "He gave," says Hollingworth, "to God and the blessed Virgin, to the Abbot of Whalley, and to their chapel of St Mary Dean, now called Dean Church, all that land lying near the said Dean Church." The land bequeathed was probably a strip which is bounded on the west by the deep banks of the River Irwell, and on the east by the old road to Ribchester, having been intended for the accommodation of the chief person of the kirk, the *persona ecclesiæ* or parson, whence the name of the parsonage, which the land retains to this day, as well as the name of the Dean's Gate, which the ancient Roman road where it was situated has gradually acquired. It is also probable that at this time Aldport, as well as its church of St Michael, had been abandoned for the newer borough and the newer church of St Mary; and as the manse of the Kirkman's Hulme would be at an inconvenient distance from the removed population, a sufficient cause would exist for the grant of the parsonage land.⁸

In the tenth year of the reign of Edward the First, Robert Grelley died; and in the inquisition which was made after his decease he was found to die possessed of numerous manors and churches in different places, and among others of Manchester and its church, and of the church of Aston (Ashton,) which, notwithstanding the lands of Ashton had been previously gifted away, was announced as an appendage to the manor of Manchester.⁹ The rectory of Manchester was estimated at 200 marks per annum.¹⁰

⁷ An abbot of Stanlawe, recorded under the name of Petrus, lived about the middle of the thirteenth century.—I had once suspected that Peter Grelley might have been identified with Peter de Cestria, parson of the church of Whalley. But the historian of Whalley, (the Rev. T. D. Whittaker,) favours the conjecture thrown out by Sir Peter Leycester, that he was a natural son of John de Lacy. The question, however, is of the least possible moment. Peter de Cestria was instituted A. D. 1235, and died on the festival of St Fabian and St Sebastian, A. D. 1293.

⁸ Mr Whittaker makes the grant of the parsonage land as old as the sixth or seventh century, but Robert Grelley's gift of land "near the Dean Church" is fatal to his conjecture.

⁹ *Calendar. Inquis. post mortem.*—See Gregson's *Lancaster*, p. 70.

¹⁰ "Anno 1282, inquisition was made concerning the extent of the manor of Manchester by the oaths of John de Biron, Geoffrey de Beatbrig, Knights, Geoffrey de Chatherton, David de Hulton, Alexander de Pilkington, Thomas de Eaton, Robert de Sorisforth, Ellis de Lever, Richard de

Robert Grelley's successor was his son Thomas, who, when his father died, was a minor. In the 21st year of the reign of Edward the first, the south of Lancashire appears to have been divided into two deaneries; the one was of Manchester and Blackburn united, and the other of Warrington. In the deanery of Manchester and Blackburn were comprehended the churches of Manchester, Eccles, Prestwich, Bury, Middleton, Rochdale, Ashton, Flixton, the church and chapel of Blackburn, and the church and chapel of Whalley. This confirmation is perpetuated in the "*Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliæ et Walliæ*," made under the authority of Pope Nicholas the IV. In this curious document the church of Manchester appears to have been valued at eighty marks, or L. 53, 6s. 8d. the tenth of which is eight marks, or L. 5, 6s. 8d.^c

Soon after this period detached notices are handed down to us of passing events,^d as well as of various individuals presiding over the church: but there are

Radcliffe, Adam de Cunclive, Adam of John de Lever, in which mention is made de perquisitis curiæ Burgi de Manchester et de placitis et perquisitis curiæ Baroni manerii, and that the rectory of Manchester was then worth two hundred marks."—Hollingworth's MSS.

^c See Whittaker's *History of Manchester*, Vol. II. 4to, pages 381 and 593; also Gregson's extracts from the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, in the appendix to his *Lancaster*, page lxxxvi. I shall transcribe from the latter authority:

Ecclesia de Maincestr	-	-	-	L.53	6	8	L.5	6	8
----- Ecclis p, t, &c.	-	-	-	20	0	0	2	0	0
----- Loncastr' pcip' in eadm	-	-	-	2	13	4	0	5	4
----- Prestwyke	-	-	-	18	13	4	1	17	4
----- de Burey	-	-	-	13	6	8	1	6	8
----- de Middleton	-	-	-	13	6	8	1	6	8
----- de Rakedale	-	-	-	23	6	8	2	6	8
----- de Aston'	-	-	-	10	0	0	1	0	0
----- de Flyxton	-	-	-	4	13	4	0	9	4
----- de Blakeburne cu' capell'	-	-	-	33	6	8	3	6	8
----- de Walley cu' capell'	-	-	-	66	13	4	6	13	4
Sma	-	-	-	L.259	6	8			
Inde decima	-	-	-	25	18	8			

In the same document we find the following notice in the *Taxatio bonor' temporalium Abbis de Stanlowe*:

Abbas de Stanlowe het apud Cadewellesheved in Dec' de Mauncestr' duas caruc' terr' et val' caruc' 7 annu' L.1 0 0
Et het ibm de pfic' staur' 7 annu' 2 0 0

^d "About 1294," says Hollingworth, "lived Hugo de Manchestría, a Dominic fryar, provincial of the preachers in England, ambassador to Philip, king of the Franks, deare to Edward the First and Eleanor. He wrote against a most impudent impostor, conjurer, and deceiver, which

very great obscurities and evident mistakes regarding the date of their elections, which it is almost in vain to attempt clearing up. William de Marchia is said to have been parson of the church of Manchester, to which that of Ashton was annexed. ^c Another incumbent, according to Hollingworth, was "Otto de Grandisone, who, by John Griffin de Grandison, ^f was at the presentation of the king, made parson of Manchester." ^g A third was Walter de Langton, bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, (sees which were then united,) who, according to Kuerden, was made "persona ecclesiæ de Manchester," holding at the same time the annexed chapel of Ashton. ^h He probably held the gift one year only, namely, in the year 1300; for in 1301 Hollingworth states that Galfridus de Stoke was made rector at the presentation of Thomas Grelley, and that the nomination took place

by many enchantments had brought his mother to madness. His books left behind him were, *Phanaticorum Deliria*, *Compendium Theologiæ*, and many others."

^c See Whittaker's *Manchester*, Vol. II. 4to, p. 374 and 592, where he quotes from Kuerden's MSS. It is stated that William de Marchia was the parson of Manchester in the 32d of Edward the First, (A. D.) 1303. This is an impossible date,—the man was dead at the time. William de Marchia was made bishop of Bath and Wells, January 30th 1292, sitting on this see upwards of ten years. From 1290 to 1295 he was treasurer of England. He died June 11th 1302, and was buried in his cathedral.—(Godwin, Vol. I. p. 374.) I am myself inclined to refer the date when he was made parson of Manchester to a period antecedent to his promotion to the bishopric, which took place in the year 1292.

^f John de Grandison was collated archdeacon of Nottingham, 4 Id. Oct. 1310; the year before he had the rich prebend of Masham belonging to York Minster. In 1317, by papal provision, he was made prebend of Heydour cum Walton, in the cathedral of Lincoln, upon the death of Thomas Grandison, who died in curia Romana. He was in 1327 made bishop of Exeter.—Willis's *Cath.* Vol. I. pp. 105, 152, and Vol. II. p. 189.

^g As Thomas Grelley was of age in the year 1301, and as the presentation of Otto de Grandison was by the king, it must have occurred during the minority of the baron of Manchester. I am induced, from many circumstances, to suspect that the preferment of Otto de Grandison to the rectory of Manchester took place about the year 1299, as stated by Mr Hollingworth.

^h According to Kuerden, as quoted by Whittaker, (see his *History of Manchester*, 4to, Vol. II. p. 592,) Walter de Langton immediately succeeded William de Marchia. "Will. de Marchia persona ecclesiæ de Manchester, ad quam capella de Assheton est annexa, factus est &c.—et Walt de Langton persona de Manchester postea tenuit capellam de Ashton similiter.—(Kuerden, Vol. II. p. 28.) I should have been glad to have examined and compared these records, which are deposited in the Chetham Library, Manchester, but am precluded by the great distance at which I now live from this town. If Hollingworth's information is to be depended upon, I should place the presentation of Otto de Grandison between that of William de Marchia and Walter de Langton.

Edward the Second, in the first year of his reign, caused Walter de Langton, principal executor of the deceased king, to be deprived of all his temporalities.

in 1301,¹ which must have been a year after Thomas Grelley the patron came of age.

Thomas Grelley appears to have been much attached to his barony of Manchester. In the year 1301 he granted a charter to the town, constituting it a free borough. This very singular document confirmed to the burgesses all the privileges which were granted to them during the Saxon government of England, and most probably added to their immunities.^k He died about the fourth year of Edward

ⁱ I suspect that Hollingworth is incorrect when he states that Galfridus de Stoke immediately succeeded Otto de Grandison. Walter de Langton probably intervened between these appointments.

There is the copy of a document preserved among the late Mr T. Barritt's MS. volumes in the Chetham Library, to which is attached the seal of the chaplain of Galfridus, dean of Manchester, probably Galfridus de Stoke. I give it a place here with some hesitation, for I must express my doubt of the accuracy of the transcript as well as of the letters which appear on the seal. I have corrected some glaring errors.

Sciant p̄s̄nts et futuri quod ego Galfr. de Manchester cap̄lus concessi dedi et hac ps̄nti carta mea confirmavi Reginaldo le Flecher de Mamecestr unū messuagiū ac p̄tenc' in villa de Mamecestr in le Denesgate jaces immediate inter burgiu' Luaclyn de Mholwor videlz' illud messugiū quod Henr le Molor' quondam tenuit habend' et tenend' de me et hrdibus meis p̄dcto Reginaldo et heridibq' suis vel suis assignāts vel cuicūq̄ue iet quādocūque dare legare vendere v̄l. assignare voluit domo religionis excēpta libera queta b̄ne in pace in foedo et heriditate reddēdo inde annuitati mihi et hrdib' meis unū denariæ scilicet ad natale domū' pro omni' servicis cosuetudine exacto et secular' demandē, &c.—In cujus rei testimoniu' huic ps̄nti sigillu' meu' apposui hiis testibus Ihne Gredlay Galfr' de Bracebrugge Robto de Stuston senescalo de Mamcestre Rico filio Ranulphi Robto fil Symonis p̄pco Burgi de Mamecester et Johae clerico cu alijs.



^k Mr Whatton has done a great service by printing the original document in an appendix to his *Dissertation on the Armorial Bearing of the Town of Manchester*. Mr Whittaker conceived that this charter was lost, and was content with publishing a translation of it made many years ago by one of the borough-reeves. It is a very curious record, and is calculated to throw great light upon the ancient mores of the burgh. A regret must however be felt, that, since Mr Whittaker's time, Manchester has not yet found any antiquary who has directed his attention to the old Saxon edicts of the town, and the modifications they have undergone by Norman lords, as well as in more modern times. The town is interested in a research of this kind, involving the basis of

the II., and at his decease the barony of Manchester passed to the family of Lord de la Warre ; John de la Warre having married Jane, the sister and heir of the late Thomas Grelley.¹

About the same year, when John de la Warre came into possession of the barony of Manchester, he obtained a licence for infeoffing it, with the view, as it would appear, of making a grant of the manor to the abbot and convent of Dort in Holland. The reason of this bequest does not appear. It is perhaps referable to some grateful affection which he had contracted to this religious establishment during his expedition in the 25th of Edward the First to the Low Countries ; or possibly it was to discharge some loan which he might have received in the course of the campaign. Two years afterwards he presented to be parson of the church, John de Vorden, who was probably a priest from Westphalia.^m Hollingworth adds, that “ he got a dispensation that he might absent himself from his church at the instance of William Herle, knight.” This grant would most probably occasion the introduction into the town of Manchester of several of the natives of Flanders,

its municipal laws : the inquiry is therefore fraught with an object of no common kind. A public address to this effect was formerly delivered by Mr Roberts, a barrister, who presided at the court leet of Salford :—it was afterwards published. My respected friend, the late Mr George Frederick Bury of Manchester, had it in contemplation to institute an inquiry of this kind ; and, from his correct knowledge of the laws of his country, I am convinced he would have done justice to the subject. But, by a fatal accident, his townsmen, whose sympathy on this melancholy occasion was the best tribute to his memory, have been recently deprived of one of their most valuable members. With a gentleman of more sterling worth in private life, and of more honourable feelings in the duties of his profession, it has seldom been my lot to be acquainted.

¹ Johannes la Ware ten' manerium de Manchest' cum ptiiis p homag' et servic', &c. &c. See Gregson's *Lancaster*, Appendix, p. 46.

About this time there is the following notice regarding Kersal, three miles from Manchester :

Prior et Monachi de Lenton tenent Kereshall in eleemosynam per cartam domini Regis.—This grant is explained by Dugdale. (See *Monast.* Vol. I. p. 674.)

King Edward II. by a diploma reciting and confirming the charter of foundation of the priory of Lenton in Nottinghamshire, and divers donations made to it, confirms to it the Hermitage of Kershall, which Hugo de Buron, who afterwards became one of their fraternity, had before granted to the monks of this priory to have and to hold it with all its appurtenances in free, pure, and perpetual alms, as freely, &c. as Hugh de Buron had held it, who gave certain lands to that monastery because a monk had done the same. “ Kersall Hall,” says Mr Greswell, “ the seat of Miss Byron, is said to have had formerly a religious house upon its site, and human bones, &c. have been found in the gardens.”

^m A family, no doubt related to John de Vorden, pronounced *Worden* or *Werden*, very early settled in Manchester. Some manuscripts in my possession show that at the close of the seventeenth century the Werdens held the first rank in the town.

who, being at the time the great manufacturers of Europe, particularly of woollens that were wrought with English wool, would naturally bring along with them the mystery of their craft. To this incident it is by no means improbable, that the first impulse was given to the manufacturing spirit, for which Manchester has been for centuries distinguished above all other towns in England.

In the same year, when John de Vorden was parson or rector, a survey was taken of the church of Manchester, the result of which Hollingworth states to be as follows : " The church of Manchester, worth yearly two hundred marks, is at the presentation of the Lord John Delawar, who last presented John de Vorden, who possesseth the endowment of the said church, consisting of the eight burgages in Mamcestre, and the villages of Newton and Kirkman's hulme, with parks, woods, pastures, &c."

" The parsonage house stood in or near to the field called the parsonage, ⁿ in or near the street called the Deanesgate." ^o

ⁿ " This survey," adds Mr Hollingworth, " mentions also the manor, conteyning within the precinct two acres of land, and a place of pasture without the gate, between the waters of Irk and Irwell ; also the wood of Alport, which might be enclosed and made a park at the will of the Lord. It joyned to the rectory of Manchester, saving that a place called Blenorcharde, or Walle-greenes, was between them.

" The manor-house stood in or neere to the place where the college now stands, and was called Baron's Court.

" The survey mentions also woods and moors of Turbary belonging to Manchester, which were so many and so large that they were not measured, but esteemed according to custome.

" Also the milne of Manchester, upon the water of Irk, valued at L.10 per annum, at which all the burgesses and tennants of Manchester, and the hamlets of Ardwick, Penshaw, (forte Openshaw,) Crumshall, Moston, Notehurst, Getheswyke, and Ancoats, ought to grynde, on paying the sixteenth grain, besides the chaff, to Moston, which was hopper free, yielding the twentieth graine. Also a common bakehouse, worth 6s. 8d., at which the burgesses ought to bake by the custome ; also a milne for the dyers, upon the banks of the same river, valued then at 13s. 4d. per annum."

Mr Barrett has stated (MSS. Chetham Library) that the chief bakehouse " was near where the college now stands."

In the same survey the river of the Medlocke is said to flow through the middle of the fee belonging to the Lord of Alport. See Whittaker in his *History of Manchester*, who quotes from Kuerden, Vol. II. 4to, p. 101 and 106.

The inquisition likewise notices the law courts proper to Manchester, and the services due to them. See Whittaker's *Manchester*, Vol. II. 4to, p. 589, where an extract from the original document is given. There is also copied, p. 591, that part of the inquisition which relates to the obligations due to the mills for grinding corn and for dyeing.

^o Mr Whittaker has written a very interesting account of the ancient parsonage-house, which he

The manor of Manchester was not, however, long in the possession of the Abbey of Dort. In the year 1326 it was declared escheat, the reason for which is unrecorded.^p It was then restored to John de la Warre, who, in the year following, according to Hollingworth, presented Adam de Suthewike to be rector of Manchester, who was succeeded in the same year, from the presentation of the same patron, by John de Claydon.^q

supposes to have existed so late as the year in which he published his work. I cannot refrain from quoting his description of the Mansion.

"The original mansion was on the site of a building, I apprehend, which still belongs to the church, and was lately inhabited by my deceased friend, the Reverend Mr Oldfield; and this building, in all probability, was the parsonage-house itself at an earlier period of time. The present house of the Warden, which is immediately joining to it on the south, was allotted him since the Restoration only, and is not constructed in the rude, old, and magnificent style of the other. This indeed is modelled in a manner, of which we have not one specimen besides in the town. A chamber comes over the entrance, projecting into the street, and supported by pillars of wood at the angles. A hatch-door opens under it into a narrow room that has only one window at the end and no fire-place, the hall or portico of the dignified structure; and this leads into a contracted court, which is lined with the buildings of the house upon three sides, and, according to the unvarying economy of such houses, was formerly lined with them on all four. The edifice, therefore, once extended its front along the street some yards to the north of its present termination; and the hatch-door, the over-hanging chamber, the portico, and the court were exactly or nearly in the centre of the whole. Some of the rooms within are ornamented to the present period in the style of magnificence that was universally adopted by the higher rank of gentlemen three or four centuries ago, with embossed and figured stucco on the walls. And the general aspect and architecture of the whole, robbed as it now is of one-half of its original extent, and frequently altered as it has been by the modernising hand of improvements, still carries an appearance of considerable antiquity with it. The great rise in the plane of the street, which has gained considerably on the windows of the parlour, and now lies near two feet above its level, carries the same appearance even more strongly. And both of them refer the date of the building to the fourteenth century at least, when the rector, not exalted into a warden, resided certainly in the Deanagate; and point it out as the only house in the street that can claim the honour of having been the rectorial edifice of Manchester."—Whittaker's *History of Manchester*, Vol. II. 4to, p. 407.

^p See the extract from the *Calendarium Inquisitionum post mortem*, given in Gregson's *Lancaster*, p. 88.

"Joh'es de la Ware pro Abb'e et conventu de Dore.

Mauncestre maner' Lancast'."

^q "About this time," says Hollingworth, "lived Thomas Langford the historian, a Dominican friar of Chelmsford in Essex, supposed to have been of the family of the Langfords, formerly of the Haugh, near Manchester. He studied at Cambridge, where he took the degree of D.D. His works are, an *Universal Chronicle: Commentaries on Job: Sermons for the whole year: various Disputations*."—Stevenson's *Abbies, &c.* Vol. II. p. 196.

In the early part of the reign of Edward the Third, great encouragement was given to the Flemings to settle in England, and to introduce in this country their manufactures. It has been conceived, that owing to John de la Warre having been attended during his expedition some years previously to Flanders with a party of soldiery, the tenants of his estates in Lancashire, this circumstance might have had great influence in inducing the Flemings to prefer Manchester, and other parts of Lancashire, where they would not be regarded as perfect strangers. But this is a conjecture, and nothing more. That Lancashire, however, received its full share of these welcome foreigners, there can be little doubt,^r and that Man-

^r We learn from Rymer that in the year 1331 Edward, observing that the riches of Brabant and Flanders were attributable to their vast woollen manufactory, the raw material of which was derived from England, granted letters of protection to such woollen cloth-weavers, dyers, or fullers of Flanders as would be induced to come over and teach his subjects the mystery of their craft. Seventy families in consequence accepted the invitation.—Mr Greswell has inserted in his collections Fuller's quaint account of the measure adopted to effect this national improvement :

“ The intercourse between England and the Netherlands being much increased by the marriage of Edward with Philippa of Hainault, unsuspected emissaries were employed by our King in those countries, who wrought themselves into familiarity with such Dutchmen as were absolute masters of their *trade*, but not masters of themselves, as either journeymen or apprentices. These bemoaned the slavery of those poor servants whom their masters used rather like heathens than Christians ; yea rather like horses than men. Early up and late in bed, and all day hard work and harder fare, (a few herrings and mouldy cheese,) and all to enrich the churls their masters, without any profit to themselves.

“ But oh ! how happy should they be if they would but come over to England, bringing their mystery, which would provide their welcome in all places. Here they should feed on fat beef and mutton till nothing but their fulness should stint their stomach ; yea, they should feed on the labours of their own hands, enjoying a proportionable profit of their pains to themselves : their beds should be good and their bed-fellows better ; seeing the richest yeomen in England would not disdain to marry their daughters unto them, and such the English beauties, that the most envious foreigners could but commend them.—Liberty is a lesson quickly conned by heart. Persuaded by their promises, many Dutch servants leave their masters, and make over for England. Their departure thence (being picked here and there,) made no sensible vacuity ; but the meeting here altogether amounted to a considerable fulness. With themselves they brought over their trade and their tools, namely, such as could not as yet be so conveniently made in England.

“ Happy the yeoman's house into which one of these Dutchmen entered, bringing industry and wealth along with him. Such as came in strangers within their doors soon after went out bridegrooms, and returned sons-in-law, having married the daughters of their landlords who first entertained them. Yea, those yeomen in whose houses they harboured soon preceded gentlemen, gaining great estates to themselves, arms and worship to their estates.

“ The king having gotten this treasury, foreigners thought not fit to continue them all in one place, but bestowed them through all parts of the land, that cloathing might thereby be the better dispersed.

chester, in particular, was undergoing some improvement is certain. This may be proved by the revenues of the church lands, which were become more productive.

About the year 1342, there appears to have been no fewer than four chaplains in the church of Manchester. Hollingworth has perpetuated their names, which were Richard Braybon, Adam Longhall, Robert Bibbey, and John de Battersby.

"In the same year," says Hollingworth, "Robert de Chalomber passed certain lands in Deansgate, in the parsonage of Manchester, to John, son of John de Strangeways, for 20s. yearly, to be paid to the rector. Witnesses, John Wakerly, John de Hulton, Richard of the Milnegate, chaplain."

In the twenty-first of Edward the Third, John West, Lord de la Ware died, and was succeeded by Roger, his grandson, in the possession of the barony of Manchester, which, owing to the commercial spirit encouraged by the English monarch, was improving.* In this reign a bridge had been thrown over the Irwell to Salford, on the site of the present old bridge; and, as it was usual to erect oratories upon structures of this kind, in which passengers were invited to offer up prayers for the souls of the founders, a chapel was built at the cost of Thomas de Booth, who had given thirty pounds towards furnishing the accommodation which was so greatly needed. By the same family of De Booth was also founded a chauntry in Saint Mary's church, which was dedicated to Saint Nicholas.

A. D. 1351, John de Claydon, the parson of Manchester, died, and was succeeded in his sacred office by Thomas de Wyke, the advowson remaining in Joan, the wife of the late Lord de la Warre. There was about this time a great pestilence in the parish of Manchester, owing to which, says Hollingworth, "a commission was granted by the bishop of Litchfield, for the consecration of the chapel-yard of Didsbury, within the parish of Manchester, for the burial of such as died of the pestilence in that hamlet, and in neighbouring hamlets in the chapel-yard there, because of their distance from the parish church of Manchester."

A. D. 1359, owing to some difference between Roger West de la Warre and the bailiffs of the Duke of Lancaster, the inhabitants were amerced; and upon an

Here I say nothing of the colony of old Dutch, who, frightened out of their own country by an inundation about the reign of King Henry I. (possibly before that nation had attained the cunning of cloth-making,) were seated only in Pembrokeshire. This new generation of Dutch was now sprinkled everywhere, so that England (in relation I mean to her own counties) may bespeak these inmates in the language of the poet,

"Quæ regio in terris vestri non plena laboris."

* Commerce was then very much under the patronage of the government. In the year 1349, the 27th of Edward the Third, an act was passed for aulness and assize of cloths, and a subsidy granted upon every cloth.—*Statutes at large*, Vol. I. p. 274.

inquisition being made, it was found that the inhabitants of Manchester held the town, not as a borough, but as a market-town, which enjoyed certain privileges.¹ The rectory was at the same time valued at two hundred and fifty marks per annum.

From the year 1360 to a long period afterwards, very little is known of the local history of Manchester. Roger, Lord de la Warre, died in the forty-fourth year of Edward the Third, being succeeded by his son, John West, Lord de la Warre, then twenty-five years of age.² Of the annals of Manchester during this lord's lifetime scarcely any events are recorded.

Thomas de la Warre, who, in the year 1380, was in orders, and collated to the Grindale Presend in York Cathedral, was the brother of the baron of Manchester.

¹ "A. D. 1359, upon some dispute between Roger Lord de la Warre, and the bailiffs of the Duke of Lancaster, (John of Gaunt, as it is thought,) which bayliffes did (as he in his petition to the said duke alleged) amerce, and gather amerciements upon the inhabitants of the town and manor of Manchester, to the damage and prejudice of the said Roger. The said duke caused an inquisition to be made at Preston before Thomas de Seton, and others his justices, by the oaths of John Ratcliffe, Oates Halsal, Roger de Bradshagh, Henry, son of Simon de Bickerstath, Robert de Trafford, Adam de Hopwood, Roger de Barlowe, John de Hoult, Robert de Hulme, John de Chetham, Thomas de Strangways, and John de Scholefield, who testified upon their oathes that the said Roger and his ancestors, time out of mind, held the town of Manchester, not as a borough, but as a market town, enjoying certain privileges which they enumerated."—Hollingworth's MSS.

² In the forty-third Edward III. we find the following entry:

Joh'es de Dalton C.H'.R. [Chartis reddendis.]

And among various places mentioned are

Dalton Halle,	} terr' et ten.
Whittington, and	
Manchester.	

See Gregson's *Lancaster*, p. 114.

In the forty-seventh of Edward III. there is the entry

Robtus Holand Ch'r.

And among numerous other manors recounted there is mentioned "Dalton manor ut de Baronia de Manchester, and Harwode Maner' 6ta pars ut de Baronia de Manchester."

There again occurs in the same year

Nich' us de Longford C.H'.R.

in which, among other places, we find

Wythington Maner,	} Lancastr.
Manchestr' sect' cur'	

³ At this time the town of Lancashire, though improved, was not rich enough to afford the expence of sending up members to Parliament. A. D. 1366, the sheriff of Lancashire, after returning two knights for the shire, added, that "there were not any cities or boroughs within this county from which any citizens or burgesses can or were wont to come, by reason of their inability, low condition, or poverty."

Soon afterwards he became the parson of Manchester. "He was presented," says Hollingworth, "and admitted rectour, and had a lycence granted him to be non-resident. He was the last parson." ^x

In the year 1399 John Lord de la Warre died without issue, being succeeded by his younger brother, Thomas West, the rector of Manchester, then forty years of age. "The said Thomas," observes Hollingworth, "being the next heire, and indeed the only heire-male of that family, came by inheritance to be Lord de la Warre. His bearing peculiar to a priest, and the eldest of an honourable house, (*viz.*) two of the cotes, the first of them on the chiefe, and the second on the last, is yet to be seen in the windows, [of the collegiate church,] as Mr Leigh observeth. This Thomas de la Warre was the last heire-male of that family, and summoned to the parliament amongst the Lords temporall by the name of Magister Thomas de la Warre, for he descended from the Grelleys, who were ancient Lords of this towne."

Thomas de la Warre's favourite residence was in Manchester, where he assiduously presided over the extensive deanery of which this town was the centre, and officiated as rector or parson of St Mary's church. The names of two of his chaplains are recorded in an old deed bearing the date of the year 1405; these were John Fawkes and Roger de Haywood.^y On the 29th of September he was collated to the prebend of Riccal, belonging to the see of Lincoln.

For a period of many years nothing whatever is known of the history of this distinguished priest and baron. His title was "Decanus Decanatus de Mamcestre;"—"and this regular use of the decanal, for the rectorial appellation," observes Mr Whittaker, "shows the deanery to have been united to the rectory."^z

After Thomas de la Warre had been twenty years in the possession of the lordship of Manchester, he took into consideration its thriving state, and the in-

^x It is impossible to say what is the date of Thomas de la Ware's presentation. Hollingworth erroneously states that it was in the year 1352. I should rather date it about thirty years afterwards, namely, about the year 1382. It appears to me that he had the Grindale presend when he was about twenty-one years of age, and was the rector and dean of Manchester at twenty-three.

^y A copy of the deed is to be seen among the MSS. of the late Mr Barrett in the Chetham library, but I suspect it is an inaccurate transcript.

J'hnes de Radcliff de Chadderton, dedit et concessit Rado de Radcliff Milt, Thom' de Tildealy, Jni Fawkes Capellano et Rogero de Hayward Capellano omnia sua Burgagia terre' et tene' sua cum pitnentijs in villis de Manchester et Salford et Bury, simul terre cū pitnentijs in villa de Spotland vocatur Burkenholt.—Datur apud Manchester die lune ante Festu nativitatis Beate Virginis Marie anno R.R.H. quarti post Conquestu Angliæ sexto. Ratified with the seal of John de Radcliffe.

^z Whittaker's History of Manchester, Vol. II. 4to, p. 391.

efficiency of the existing church to accommodate a greatly increased neighbourhood. The old town of Manchester named Aldport, situated in the immediate vicinity of the ruins of Mancastle, had been forsaken for the newer site near the confluence of the Irk and Irwell. St Michael's church in Aldport had long ceased to exist, and all memory of it would have faded away but for the annual fair which survived the decay of the building; its celebration still taking place on the site of the original church-yard, and the day of the feast deviating but little from the period on which the tutelar saint was in very early times commemorated. St Mary's church, a timbered building, erected in Aca's Field during a later period of the Anglo-Saxon church, was old and much decayed. The tenement of the parsonage afforded inadequate accommodation to the more luxurious priests of later times, whom the Norman conquest had introduced in succession to the rich endowment of the parsonage and deanery of Manchester; a ready pretext was therefore afforded them for their frequent absence from the pastoral duties which they owed to a populous vicinity.

These were the considerations which urged the pious De la Warre, who possessed the patronage of the living of Manchester, to attempt the foundation of a new and capacious church commensurate with the increased extent of the town, as well as of a suite of buildings capable of accommodating the additional number of clergy who would be required for the administration of its sacred rites. Yet the tongue of slander was not wanting,—ready to impugn the generous intention of the donor, and to assign to it a sinister motive. Although he was upwards of sixty years of age, it was alleged that the design he entertained of founding and endowing a college was a condition upon which the pope acceded to a solicitation he had made to remove from him the restriction under which, as a priest, he laboured, and to allow him, in consideration of his being the last male branch of his family, to take unto himself a wife. This story has been perpetuated by Fuller, the gossiping biographer of his day.

Thomas, Lord de la Warre, endeavoured to put into execution his pious intention. His wish being known, all his parishioners gathered together at the sound of the bell. There were present the two churchwardens, Lawrence Hulme and Henry Bulkeley; two worthy knights of the neighbourhood, Sir John le Byron and Sir John de Ratcliffe; esquires in profusion, among whom were Edmund de Trafford, John de Booth, Ralph Langford, Thurstan de Holland, James de Strangeways, Robert de Hyde, Robert de Booth, Otho de Reddich, John de Barlow, Ralph de Prestwich, Peter de Worbeske, James de Hulme, and John de Hulton; besides several of the rank of gentlemen, as William de Birches, John Bainford, Laurence

de Barton, Geoffry de Hopwood, Geoffry de Hulton, and William de Highfield.^a

To this assembly Thomas de la Warre represented, that the parish of Manchester had become large and populous, and that some of the former rectors were seldom residents in it, while others had absented themselves altogether. He therefore pleaded, that, for the greater honour of the town, and the better edification of its inhabitants, a college and collegiate church, calculated for a warden, and such a number of associate priests, or fellows, as the bishops of Durham and Litchfield might appoint, should be founded and endowed. He offered, at his own charge, to erect the costly buildings that would be required; but he also recommended, that, in further aid of the pious purpose, and for the permanent support of the college, the parishioners should, for themselves, their heirs and successors, give their free assent to the appropriation of the estates attached to the existing rectory: and, as additional funds would still be needed, the convener promised that the deficiency should be supplied from certain lands which he himself possessed in the lordship of Manchester. To this proposition the parishioners gave their free consent, and the mutual agreement being drawn up in writing, was ratified with the signet of the dean of Manchester, and with more than twenty other seals of individuals of rank.

The proposed endowment of the college and collegiate church was ample.^b It comprised, in the first place, the carucate of land in Kirkman's Hulme, granted to the church of St Michael previous to the Norman conquest, which was free from all impost, with the exception of Dane-geld: to this was afterwards added the glebe of land in Deansgate, gifted in a later period to the use of the parson and dean, after the church of St Mary had been erected in the newer town; whence the name it still retains of the parsonage land. Upon part of this ground an addition to the town had been built, the remainder having been occupied by the dean. In the second place, the original endowment comprised the tithes of the parish of Manchester, which arose from numerous hamlets or townships.—But Thomas Lord de la Warre, and his advisers, the Bishop of Durham and the Bishop of Litchfield, judged that this property of the church was not sufficient for the maintenance of the increased religious establishment which was proposed. The munificent founder therefore reserved for its further use the following lands, which

^a For these names, and other information connected with the foundation of the Collegiate Church of Manchester, I am chiefly indebted to Hollingworth's *MSS.*

^b The endowment has been loosely estimated at 800 acres of land, Lancashire measure, and the tithes of the whole parish included in thirty-two hamlets. But with the details from which this sum total is inferred we have not been favoured.

were parcel of the manor of Manchester : First, the messuage named the Baron's Hall, which was the residence of the Lord of Manchester, and the fortified ground contiguous to it, named the Baron's Yard, the extent of which was an acre and twenty-four perches :—upon this land the ancient baronial mansion of his progenitors had long stood, which he proposed to pull down, and from its materials to erect the building intended for the residence of the various members of the college. He next made a reservation for the use of the intended college of about eight acres of land in Nether Aldport, situated between the glebe in Deansgate, belonging to the parsonage, and the ancient church-land of Kirkmanshulme, subject however to a rent of certain services due and customary. To this donation he added one messuage in Gorton Green, and another in Heaton, each containing eleven perches ;—the total of baronial land thus gifted being estimated at five messuages and ten acres.—With these various resources, exclusive of the sum of three thousand pounds, which Thomas Lord de la Warre reserved for the completion of the intended buildings, it was resolved to found a collegiate church, which was to consist of one master or keeper, and as many fellows, chaplains, and other assistants, as the Bishop of Durham and other advisers might judge to be expedient. As it was also designed that, upon the completion of the collegiate church, St Mary's church, situated near Aca's Field, should be abandoned, Thomas de la Warre proposed, that, while the new religious edifice should be erected in honour of the same saint from whom the tutelar protection of the old place of worship had been for several centuries implored, it should be dedicated to St Dyonise (or Dennis) of France, and St George of England, the respective guardian saints of the two countries, to which, from family considerations, he was alike attached. He then paid two hundred marks into the king's exchequer, and, on the 9th of May, in the ninth year of Henry the V. obtained the Royal licence, under the seal of the Duchy of Lancaster, for the appropriation of the rectory to the foundation of the college, and for the power of vesting in the trust of certain individuals the additional land of which he had made a recent gift.

CHARTER

OF THE ORIGINAL FOUNDATION OF THE COLLEGIATE CHURCH OF MANCHESTER.

Ecclesia Collegiata de Mancestre in Com. Lancastria.

Licentia regia pro fundatione ejusdem.

Rex omnibus ad quos &c. salutem : Sciatis quod cum venerabilis in Christo pater Thomas Episcopus Dunelmensis, Johannes Henege, Nicholaus Motte,

personæ ecclesiæ Swine-Shevede, Ricardus Lumbard, nuper persona ecclesiæ de Holtham, et Ricardus Frithe, teneant manerium de MAUNCESTRE cum pertinentiis, una cum advocacione Ecclesiæ de MAUNCESTRE in com. LANCASTRIÆ, sibi et hæredibus suis, ex dono et feoffamento Thomæ la Warre clerici, prout per quendam finem in curia domini Henrici nuper regis Angliæ, patris nostri, com. sui Palatini Lancastriæ inter præfatos Episcopum Johannem, Nicolaum, Ricardum, et Ricardum et Willielmum Thirnyng militem, Willielmum Auncell, et Johannem Overtone jam defunctos; necnon Willielmum Rouceby vicarium ecclesiæ de Sleford, qui totum jus, suum et clameum, quæ habuit vel habere potuit in eisdem manerio et advocacione præfatis Episcopo, Willielmo Thirnyng, Johanni Nicolao, Willielmo Auncell, Ricardo, Johanni et Ricardo remisit et relaxavit quærentes, et præfatum Thomam de la Warre de manerio et advocacione prædictis, deforciantem levatum, liquet manifeste : Nos, de gratia nostra speciali, et ex certa scientia nostra, pro cc marcis nobis in hanaperio nostro solutis, concessimus et licentiam dedimus, pro nobis et hæredibus nostris, quantum in nobis est, præfatis Episcopo, Johanni Nicholao, Ricardo, et Ricardo, quod ipsi dictam ecclesiam de Mauncestre in ecclesiam collegiatam erigere, seu per eum ad quem pertinet erigi facere valeant; et in et de eadem ecclesiâ quoddam collegium, de uno magistro sive custode capellano, et de tot sociis capellanis et aliis ministris, quot eisdem Episcopo, Johanni, Nicholao, Ricardo, et Ricardo, ac præfato Thomæ de la Warre videbitur expedire, divina in ecclesiâ prædictâ singulis diebus, pro salubri statu nostro, ac dictorum Episcopi et Thomæ la Warre dum vixerimus, et animabus nostris cum ab hac luce migraverimus, ac animabus progenitorum nostrorum et antecessorum ipsius Thomæ de la Warre, nec non animabus omnium fidelium defunctorum celebraturis imperpetuum facere, fundare, et stabilire possint, juxta ordinationem dictorum Episcopi, Johannis, Nicholai, Ricardi, ac Ricardi, ac præfati Thomæ la Warre, seu quinque quatuor, trium vel duorum prædictorum Episcopi, Johannis, Nicholai, Ricardi, Ricardi, et Thomæ la Warre in hac parte faciendum imperpetuum.

Et quod idem magister sive custos, et successores sui magistri sive custodes collegii prædicti, magistri sive custodes collegii Beatæ Mariæ de Mauncestre nuncupentur imperpetuum : Et quod idem magister sive custos, et socii sui appellant, ejusdem collegii, et successores sui, sint personæ perpetuæ et capaces beneficiorum terrarum et tenementorum, ac aliarum possessionum et emolumentorum quorumcunque : Et quod habeant sigillum commune : Et quod idem magister sive custos ejusdem collegii, et successores sui, possint implacitare et implacitari per nomen magistri sive custodis dicti collegii.

Concessimus etiam et licentiam dedimus, pro nobis et hæredibus nostris, quantum

in nobis est, præfatis Episcopo Johanni, Nicholao, Ricardo, et Ricardo, quod ipsi quinque messuagia et decem acras terræ cum pertinentiis in Mauncestre, Gortone, et Hetone quæ sunt parcella dicti manerii, ac advocationem prædictam, quæ de nobis ut de dicto comitatu nostro palatino tenentur, dare possint et assignare prædictis magistro sive custodi, et sociis suis capellanis ejusdem collegii cum sit erectum, factum, fundatum et stabilitum fuerit; habenda et tenenda eisdem magistro sive custodi et sociis suis capellanis ejusdem collegii, et successoribus suis, de nobis et hæredibus nostris, ut de dicto comitatu nostro Palatino, per servicia inde debita et consueta, in subventionem sustentationis suæ, ac aliorum ministrorum dicti collegii imperpetuum: Et eisdem magistro sive custodi, et sociis suis capellanis ejusdem collegii, quod ipsi dicta messuagia et terram cum pertinentiis, et advocationem prædictam, a præfatis Episcopo, Johanne, Nicholao, Ricardo et Ricardo recipere, et ecclesiam illam appropriare; et eam sic appropriatam in proprios usus, una cum messuagiis et terra prædictis tenere possint eisdem magistro, sive custodi, et sociis suis capellanis ejusdem collegii, et successoribus suis, in subventionem sustentationis suæ ac ministrorum suorum prædictorum imperpetuum, ut prædictum est, tenere præsentium similiter licentiam dedimus specialem; statuto de terris et tenementis ad manum mortuam non ponendis edito, &c. non obstante, &c. In cujus, &c. T. Rege apud Weston: xxii^o die Maii.^c

^c *Monasticon Anglic.* Tom. III, p. 174, 5, 7. A translation of this charter was inserted by the late Reverend J. Greswell in his collections for the *History of Manchester*, which I shall beg to give. A blank left in one of the passages, considered obscure, I have supplied.

The royal licence for the foundation of the old church in Manchester:—

The King to all unto whom these presents shall come, greeting: Know ye, that, whereas the venerable father in Christ, Thomas Bishop of Durham, John Henege, Nicholas Motte, parsons of the church of Swineshevede, Richard Lumbard, late parson of the church of Holtham, and Richard Frith, hold the manor of Manchester, with its appurtenances, together with the advowson of the church of Manchester, in the county of Lancaster, to themselves and their heirs, by the gift and feoffment of *Thomas la Warre*, clerk, even as by a certain fine in the court of the Lord Henry, late King of England, our father, in his county Palatine of Lancaster, between the aforesaid Bishop, John, Nicholas, Richard, and Richard, and William Thirnyng. Knight, William Auncell, and John Overtone, now deceased, and also William Rouseby, vicar of the church of Sleaford, *who*, all his right and claim which he had or might have in the same manor and advowson, to the aforesaid Bishop, William Thirnyng, John, Nicholas, William Auncell, Richard, John and Richard, did remit and release, and by the said Thomas Warre's [deforcing a levy from] the manor and advowson aforesaid, manifestly appears: We, of our special grace, and of our certain knowledge, for two hundred marks paid to us into our exchequer, have granted and given licence, for ourself and heirs as much as in us lieth, to the aforesaid Bishop, John, Nicholas, Richard, and Richard, that they be empowered to erect, or cause to be erected, by him to whom it appertaineth, the said church of Manchester into a collegiate church: and in and of the said church a

Thomas Lord de la Warre next made a deed of gift and feoffment of the lands and rectory of Manchester, reserved for the maintenance of the intended college, to Thomas, Lord Bishop of Durham, John Henege, Richard Lombard, parson of Holtham church, and Richard Firth. The bishop of Durham then founded a collegiate church, consisting of one warden or master, eight fellows, four clerks, and six choristers, in honour of St Mary, St Dennis, and St George.

After this act had been performed, Thomas de la Warre, by proxy made to

certain college, consisting of one master, or keeper, and of so many fellows, chaplains, and other assistants, as to the same Bishop, John, Nicholas, Richard, and Richard, and to the aforesaid Thomas la Warre, shall seem expedient ; and, that they may celebrate daily for ever in the said church Divine worship for the well-being of ourself, and of the said Bishop and Thomas la Warre, while we live, and for our souls when we depart this life, and for the souls of our progenitors, and of the ancestors of the said Thomas la Warre, and also for the souls of all the faithful deceased, they are hereby empowered to make, found, and establish it, according to the appointment of the said Bishop, John, Nicholas, Richard, and Richard, and of the aforesaid Thomas la Warre, or of five, four, three, or two, of the aforesaid Bishop, John, Nicholas, Richard, Richard, and Thomas la Warre, in this part to be made for ever :—

And that the same master or keeper, and his successors, masters or keepers of the college, be called for ever the masters or keepers of the College of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Manchester ; and that the same master or keeper, and his fellows, chaplains of the same, and their successors, be parsons perpetual, and capable of benefices, lands, and tenements, and other possessions and emoluments whatsoever ; and that they may have a common seal ; and that the same master or keeper of the same college, and his successors, may implead and be impleaded by the name of the master or keeper of the said college.

We have granted also, and given licence for ourself and our heirs, as far as in us lies, to the aforesaid Bishop, John, Nicholas, Richard, and Richard, that they may give and assign to the aforesaid master or keeper and his fellows, chaplains of the same college, when it shall have been so erected, made, founded, and established, five messuages and ten acres of land, with their appurtenances, in Manchester, Gorton, and Heaton, being parcel of the said manor and the advowson aforesaid, which are held of us as of our County Palatine, to be had and held by the same master or keeper and his fellows, chaplains of the same college, and their successors, of us and our heirs as of our said County Palatine, by services thence due and customary, in aid of their sustenance and of the other assistants of the said college for ever :

And by the tenor of these presents, we have in like manner given special licence to the same master or keeper and his fellows, chaplains of the said college, that they, the said messuages and land, with their appurtenances, and the advowson aforesaid, may, from the said Bishop, John, Nicholas, Richard, and Richard, receive, and the said church appropriate, and hold it thus appropriated to its proper uses, together with the messuages and land granted to the said master or keeper and his fellows, chaplains of the same college, and their successors, in aid of their sustenance, and of their said assistants for ever, as is before said : the statute published concerning lands and tenements not to be assigned in mortmain, &c. notwithstanding, &c. In witness of which, &c.

By the King at Westminster, 22d day of May.

William Brinkley, canon of Lichfield, and Thomas Clarke, chaplain, resigned his sacred office as parson of St Mary's church, and Dean of Manchester.

These several deeds were successively confirmed by Richard Crosby, prior, and the convent of Coventry; by Henry Halsall, archdeacon of Chester; and by William, Bishop, Thomas Stirton, Dean, and the chapter of Lichfield.

HISTORY OF THE COLLEGIATE CHURCH OF MANCHESTER.

CHAPTER I.^c

ANNALS OF THE WARDENSHIP OF JOHN HUNTINGTON, A. D. 1422 TO 1458.

THOMAS Lord de la Warre, the munificent contributor to the foundation of the college of Manchester, presented to William, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, **JOHN HUNTINGTON**, bachelor in divinity, and rector of Ashton under-line, to be the first keeper or warden. The Bishop of Durham granted and confirmed to the new warden five messuages and ten acres of land, parcel of the manor of Manchester, which had been gifted for the use of the college. The eight fellows associated with the first warden consisted of two parish priests, two canons, and four deacons, to whom were attached four clerks and six choristers. The whole was then acknowledged as a body corporate, under the title of **THE GUILD OR COMPANY OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN IN MANCHESTER**. The lands of the guild were estimated at two hundred and fifty marks a-year.

John Huntington entered upon his sacred functions, as warden and dean of Manchester, in the year 1422. He was a man, who, in the words of Hollingworth, "was allowed to possess a considerable share of the learning most in request during the times in which he lived." The fellows associated with him were John Rave-

^c This chapter is drawn up by Dr Hibbert, chiefly from the information of Hollingworth.

ald, Hugh Wrihtington, Thomas Whitehead, Jacob Bardisley, Roger de Parker, William Walker, and John Brown.^d

In the fifth year of Henry the Sixth the church of Asheton under-line shared the same fate as its including township ; for in a former reign, that of Henry the Third, the manor of Asheton had been separated from the seignory and parish of Manchester, in which it was originally comprised, by a deed of gift from Albert Grelle, to a son of Orm the Norman : and now, by a deed of Thomas Lord de la Warre, a gift was made to his kinsman, John de Asheton, and his heirs for ever, of the church of Asheton, and along with it of one rod of land, being parcel of the manor of Manchester, in a certain field named Smithfield ; the said John to hold the manor of Asheton from Richard de Kirkby, Knight, and Richard de Kirkby to hold it from himself.^e This was probably a bequest made by Thomas de la Warre on his death-bed ; for in the same year, viz. A. D. 1427, he quitted the worldly scene of his munificence, long before the object of it, the building of the college and collegiate church, could be completed. Sir Reginald West, Knight, by virtue of a former entail, succeeded to the estate and titles.

Thomas Lord de la Warre appears, before he died, to have reserved three thousand pounds for the completion of the buildings of the college of Manchester. With this sum he had intended to erect an ample mansion for the accommodation of the warden and fellows. The Baron's Hall was then demolished, and the foundation of the structure of the college was commenced upon its site. Tradition asserts

^d " In a rental of Thomas West, Lord de la Warre, occasional mention is made of John Raveald, Hugh Wrihtington, Thomas Whitehead, Jacob Bardisley, Nicholas Raveald, chaplains and fellows of the college ; of the wardens, then holding of the lord of the manor, the park, called nether Aldport, and fishing in the river of Irke, for a certain rent, and of the guild or company of the blessed Virgin Mary holding some burgages of him ; of one Richard Hill, who had the corne mill for six pounds a-year ; alsoe John Trafford, Knight, holding one parcell of waste, lying in Manchester, near to the booths where courts are kept, upon which parcel of land only one shop was then lately builded ; so that it seems the rest were builded since. We read alsoe of one Roger de Parker and William Walker, chaplains about that time. There was also John Browne, a fellowe, who, delighting in a large pit upon or near to the High-knowles, and causing a double hedge and walks and seats around it, (possibly for his meditation,) gave it the name it hath to this day, Sir John Brown's pit."—Hollingworth's *Mancuniensis*.—The rent paid for Alport was four marks per annum.

The title of *Sir*, which was thus prefixed to the name of one of the fellows, John Brown, was a common term of courtesy formerly applied to priests. This in fact was the compliment which Oxford and Cambridge were once accustomed to pay to the fellows of the univeraities. The clergymen of the Isle of Man were until very lately thus honoured.

^e Whittaker's *History of Manchester*, 4to, Vol. II. p. 591.

that the materials of stone were in part furnished from those of the old building, which had been rased, and in part from the ruins of Mancastle. But it appears that the sum bequeathed by the late Thomas Lord de la Warre was insufficient for completing all the edifices equally of stone. It was therefore determined that the fabric of the collegiate church should be of wood. The site selected for it was on the south of the Baron's Hall, near to the fosse, crossed by a bridge, by which this demesne was anciently fenced.^f As the funds left by Thomas Lord de la Warre seem to have been almost exclusively devoted to the college, some further contributions were necessary for the erection of the collegiate church. Warden Huntington, therefore, who is described as "a man of public spirit, attentive to the duties of his church, and anxious to complete and adorn it," erected, at his own cost, the chancel, which, like the rest of the building, was of wood.^g As a contributor to the building, he left the record of his name in a rebus, or species of device introduced into this country from France, which was displayed on a prominent part of the choir. One side of a beam represented a huntsman, a dog, and a stag, whereby the word *hunting* was implied; while the other side exhibited a *ton*, by which the remaining syllable of the donor's name was completed.^h

These are the only particulars which have been recorded regarding the timbered edifice dedicated to St Mary, St Dennis, and St George, which was first built on

^f Mr Ainscough's MS. says, that the Collegiate Church was first erected of wood; that the quire was also built of wood. "It was a vast wooden building," says Hollingworth, "not much unlike (save probably it was more adorned) to the booths where the Court Leet and Court Baron of the Lord, and the Quarter Sessions, are now kept." The writer here alludes to a timbered building, since occupied as an auction-room, that stood on the west side of the market place. But this remark is in bad taste. No one can view the timbered church of the neighbouring village of Denton without being convinced, that even a structure of this kind may possess striking features of architectural beauty.

^g In an old MS. quoted by Mr Greswell, it is said that Warden Huntington built the quire of wood, as all other parts of the church were at that time, which was, in length 30 yards, and in breadth 20 yards, from the two great pillars, where the organ stands, to the east end of the Church.

^h Warden Huntington is said to have been the founder of St Michael's Church in Ashton. Under several seats similar hieroglyphics are to be seen. Hollingworth thus describes the conceit: "*His rebus, or name devyse*, a custome borrowed of the French, which is to be seene on either side of the middle arche, as it looketh eastwarde. On the one side is an huntsman, with dogs, whereby he thought to express the two syllables of his name Hunting; on the other side, a vessel called a Tonne, which, being joined together, makes Huntington. Sometimes a mulberry, called in Latin *merus*, is seen coming out of a tunne, to express the name of Morton." The device is said to be still seen from the higher end of the choir on the transverse beam, in the arch above the organ.

the site of the present collegiate church,¹ and which, in a later period, was supplanted by a more lasting one of stone.

The more solid edifice of stone, which was intended for the domestic accommodation of the warden and fellows, was probably completed, or nearly so, in the lifetime of the first warden. It was protected on the north by the steep banks of the river Irk, the stream of which had been long celebrated for the exquisite flavour of its eels. With the view, therefore, of commanding a supply of fish for the tables of Lent, the wardens had rented from the lord of the manor the right of its fisheries.² The building which accommodated the holy guild was protected on the south and east by a high wall, the approach of which was through a lofty gateway. On entering the porch of the mansion, there was on the right a spacious and lofty kitchen open to the roof, and on the left a refectory, which again led to the apartment of the warden, admirable for its ornamental carvings. In the middle was a small court surrounded by venerable cloisters. The demesne attached to the college was ample, being bounded on the east and south by the ancient fosse, which, with the rivers Irk and Irwell, rendered it completely insulated. All the sacred ground thus inclosed became an asylum for those who shrunk from the penalties of the civil laws of their country. The sanctuary, which the precincts of the holy guild of St Mary's Church in Manchester afforded, was injurious in proportion to the increased extent of land which had been attached to its altar of refuge. On the supposition that a temple had nothing but a small church-yard connected with it, every facility would be afforded of encompassing the privileged place, and of compelling the fugitive to surrender or submit to starvation. But when an extensive demesne was annexed to a religious establishment, as was the case in Manchester, and when the exigencies of the college and church induced the erection of dwelling-houses upon the site, the case was very different. A malefactor was

¹ It is scarcely worth while, in this dissertation, to notice what became of the land which had been attached to the old Church of St Mary's dean after the Collegiate Church was erected. It has been shown that a field adjoining the kirk was granted by the lord of the manor to a churchman named Aca; but it is not satisfactorily explained why it afterwards reverted to the baron, who, says Mr Whittaker, actually possessed it to the time of the recent constructions upon it. The same author then adds, that previously to the removal of the church the fair had been established on the ground; and as the feast of St Mary was in the period of harvest, the lessee of the lord, even within the memory of the present generation, was obliged to carry away his corn before the day of the fair, or the people were at liberty to enter the field and trample it under their feet. It might be stated, however, that the townsmen were accustomed, from time immemorial, to protest against the legality of continuing Aca's fair; crowds of boys being collected to pelt the first cow, horse, sheep, or swine that entered Aca's field.

² See the quotation from Hollingworth in Note d, page 42 and 43.

enabled to obtain a habitation and support, and thus to brave the offended laws of his country. That asyla of this kind did actually exist within the precincts of the college demesne of Manchester, which afforded shelter to the robber or the debtor, is certain. Tradition assigns to the site of them the vicinity of Hyde's Cross, which was originally included in the lands of the college.

These are the few events handed down to us which occurred during the wardenship of John Huntington. This excellent man died on the 11th of November 1458, after having held his sacred office for thirty-seven years. He was buried in the vault of the choir, which he himself had built immediately under the high altar, as it then stood. Over that part of the floor of the vault which was dedicated to the inhumation of his remains, a stone was placed, in which was inlaid a plate of brass representing him in sacerdotal vestments. The label proceeding from his mouth is strikingly expressive of the chief object of his zeal :

“ Domine dilexi decorem domus tuæ.”

On a narrow border of brass which encompasses the stone is this inscription :

“ Hic jacet Johannes Huntington, Baccalaureus in Decretis, primus magister vel custos hujus Collegii, qui obiit 11 Novemr. 1458.”

CHAPTER II.

ANNALS OF THE WARDENSHIP OF JOHN BOOTH, LL.B. A. D. 1459 TO 1465.

From the collections of the late Rev. J. GRESWELL.

UPON the death of the first warden, John Booth, a younger brother of the Booths of Barton, which family resided afterwards at Dunham Massie in Cheshire, was made warden.¹ In 1457 he had been made treasurer of York cathedral, which, in 1459, the year he was made warden of Manchester, he resigned.

¹ The eldest brother was Sir Roger Boothe, knight, of Barton in Lancashire, father of Margaret, wife of Ralph Nevill, third Earl of Westmoreland. From him were descended the Booths, Lords Delamere, and Earls of Warrington. A second elder brother was Lawrence, who, in the thirteenth of Edward the Fourth, was made Lord High Chancellor of England. He was twenty years bishop of Durham, and afterwards archbishop of York. He died A. D. 1480.—Goodwin. A third elder

March 28, 1464, Warden Booth was made prebend of York.

A. D. 1465, he incurred the displeasure of Edward IV. by his activity in the civil wars between the houses of York and Lancaster, and was in consequence fined and deprived of his wardenship.^m

CHAPTER III.

ANNALS OF THE WARDENSHIP OF RALPH LANGLEY, A. D. 1465 TO A. D. 1481.

From the collections of the late Rev. J. GRESWELL.

RALPH LANGLEY, second son to Sir ——— Langley of Edgecroft,ⁿ was at the presentation of Richard Halfield, and Nicholas Stathouse, whom Richard West,

brother was William, who, in 1447, was rector of Prescott in Lancashire. In the twenty-fifth of Henry the Sixth he was made bishop of Lichfield by papal provision, (the Bull dated April 26, 1447, consecrated July 9,) where he continued during the space of six years, and was then translated to York. He died A. D. 1464.—Willis's *Cath.* Vol. I. p. 389. Ralph Booth, another brother, A. D. 1463, was made archdeacon of Durham, and in 1480 was promoted to York archdeaconry, perhaps by Lawrence Boothe, and held both to his death, A. D. 1497.—Willis's *Cath.* Vol. I. p. 259.

^m In the sixth year of Edward the Fourth, John Boothe was restored to the royal favour, and was promoted to the see of Exeter; the licence of consecration being dated July 2, 1465.—Goodwin. This dignity he held with great reputation, and adorned his cathedral church with such exquisite workmanship as was not to be equalled by any in England. Retiring from the bustle of political tumults, he resided at his house at Horsley, in the county of Hants, where he died April 5, 1478.—Fuller's *Worthies*. Bishop Goodwin says he was interred in St Clement's church, London; but this appears to be a mistake. Wood says, that in the church of Horsley, in the county of Surry, was the following epitaph:

"Hic jacet Joannes Boothe, quondam Episcopus

"Exon, qui obiit V^o. die mensis Apr. An. Dom.

"MCCCCLXXVIII."—Goodwin. Note by Richardson, Vol. I. p. 414.

ⁿ The last male of this family was Sir Robert Langley, who died in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and left four daughters, one of whom was married to Reddish of Reddish; another to the younger brother of the Leghs of Lyme, by whom he had Altrington, now in possession of the Levers; the third was married to Ashton of Chadderton, who is still patron of Prestwich; and the fourth to one Dauntsey, Esq. [of a family of Wiltshire,] whose posterity now enjoys Edgecroft, the ancient seat of the Langleys.—*Ancient MS.* p. Rev J. Brookes. The crest of the family was a griffin.

Lord De la Warre, had made patrons for this time only, admitted warden.—Hollingworth's *Mancuniensis*.

A. D. 1476. Warden Langley built the church of Oldham, as appears from a deed found in the Tower of London.—Fuller's *Worthies*.

He is said by Hollingworth to have given the first chimes to the church of Manchester, the erection of which was probably not completed.

Ralph Langley was also made rector of Prestwich, by the patronage no doubt of his father, who had married the heiress of that place.

During this wardenship, "James, Abbot of Abingdon, the nuncio and commissary-general of Pope Sixtus IV. and the collector of the revenues of the Apostolic Chamber, visited Manchester, and for money paid, as was alleged, for the maintenance of Christianity against the Turks, granted plenary indulgence to those who thus purchased it, as if on a day of jubilee they had in person visited all Rome."—Hollingworth's *Mancuniensis*, MS.

July 27th, 1481. Ralph Langley resigned his wardenship and retired to his rectory of Prestwich, where he ended his days.

CHAPTER IV.

ANNALS OF THE WARDENSHIP OF JAMES STANLEY, D. D. THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, A. D. 1481 TO 1485.^o

Written by Dr HIBBERT.

HOLLINGWORTH, in his "*Mancuniensis*," has distinctly stated, that there were *two* successive wardens of the name of James Stanley, and there is no doubt but that he has derived his information from correct authority. By another writer it is said that Sir James Stanley, warden, was brother to Thomas Stanley, son and heir of Sir John Stanley of Latham, knight, which said Thomas was made baron by Henry the Fourth.—(*Ancient MS. pen. the Rev. J. Brooke.*) But the history of the House of Derby states, that Sir John Stanley of Latham had only one son. It is certain, therefore, that there were two successive James Stanleys who enjoyed

^o With respect to there being *two* successive wardens, each of the name of James Stanley, Dr Hibbert has requested the publishers to state, that he is exclusively responsible for this opinion, Mr Greswell having fallen in with the prevalent notion, that there was but *one* warden of that name.

great ecclesiastical honours, and who were wardens of Manchester. An ignorance of this circumstance has led to the most contradictory and inconsistent statements.^p

James Stanley, the first warden of that name, was not the son, but the grandson of Sir John Stanley of Latham. He was the youngest son of Sir Thomas, created Lord Stanley,^q and was probably the same who, in the year 1458, was made prebendary in the cathedral of the collegiate church of St Paul. In 1478 he was made archdeacon of Chester.^r

In the year 1485 the building of the church is said to have been completed. But this is a very doubtful date. It is stated by Mr Hollingworth and Mr Ainscough, that, in the reign of Henry the Seventh, the Collegiate Church, supposed to

^p Thus, some maintain James Stanley was educated at Cambridge, others at Oxford. Some discover that he was a stripling in 1496, when he had an interview with Erasmus, and others that he was then sixty-four years of age.

^q Mr Barritt of Manchester was shown a curious deed by the late Colonel Chadwick of the Lancashire Militia, which has a reference to Lord Stanley and the church of Manchester. He has related the subject of it in his own peculiar quaint rhyme.

In our fourth Edward's fickle days,
A serious quarrel, story says,
Took place near Rochdale, we are told,
'Twixt Trafford and a Byron bold.
The cause was this, we understand,
About some privilege of land.
Oliver Chadwick from Chadwick Hall
On Biron's part that day did fall;
But afterwards it came to pass
Lord Stanley arbitrator was,
Who fixed it upon this ground,
Trafford should pay full sixty pound
In holy church at Manchester,
And from this contract not to err,
To Chadwick's heirs to keep them quiet,
And never more to move a riot:
Ten marks at birth-day of St John,
And ten at Martin's day upon
Each year, until the whole was paid;—
And to be friends again, he said.

^r Hollingworth says he was archdeacon of *Richmond*. Here the first James Stanley is confounded with the second. Willis says he was a Bishop of Man about 1573; in this instance another individual of a different name has been mistaken for him. *Thomas*, son of Lord Montague, was bishop of Man at that period.

have been formed of wood, was, with the choir, taken down; and that one part was removed to Ordsall, another part to Clayton, and the main body to Trafford. But whatever might have been the original structure, there are reasons for supposing, that, at a very early period, alterations and enlargements had been going on, and that the materials employed were not of wood, but of stone, so that in process of time a church of a cruciform plan was the result. This question will be set at rest by the architectural researches of Mr Palmer, which will be given in the fourth part of this work.

James Stanley, the warden of Manchester, and archdeacon of Chester, died about the year 1485 or 1486. Hollingworth assigns to his decease the former date, and he is probably correct.

CHAPTER V.

ANNALS OF THE WARDENSHIP OF JAMES STANLEY, THE SECOND OF THAT NAME, A. D. 1485 to 1509.

From HOLLINGWORTH, Mr GRESWELL's Collections, &c. &c.

MR HOLLINGWORTH states, that, "Anno 1485, 22d July, upon the death of the said James Stanley, *another* James Stanley was made master or keeper of the college." This warden was the grandson of the first Thomas Lord Stanley mentioned in the last chapter. He is properly described by Wood as a younger son of the second Thomas Lord Stanley, who, in the year 1485, was, by Henry the Seventh, for the support rendered at Bosworth Field, created Earl of Derby, and had bestowed upon him almost the whole of the forfeited estates in the north of England :

• A little before his coronation he bestowed upon Thomas Stanley almost all the forfeited estates northward, viz. he had *Sir Thomas Broughton's* estate, also *Harrington's* of Hornby Castle, *Francis Lord Viscount Lovell's*, who, by a match, had the estate of *Holland* of Holland, the estate of *Sir Thomas Pilkinton* of Pilkinton, and what the said Sir Thomas had in right of his lady, who was daughter and heir of *Chetham* of Chetham. The said Sir Thomas Pilkinton was owner of all the land the Earle of Derby now claims in Salford hundred. He had also *Pooton* of Pooton's, *Bythom* of Bythom's, and *Nemby* of Kirkly's estates in this county, with at least twenty gentlemen's estates more.—(*Ancient MS. pen. the late Reverend J. Brookes.*)

His third sonne was James, a goodlye man, a priest,
Yet little priest's mettle was in him, by Christ.

* * * * *

A goodlie tall man as was in all England,
And spedd well all matters that he took in hand.

* * * * *

Because he was a priest I dare do no lesse,
But leete, as I know not, of his hardinea.
What proud priest hath a blowe on the ear sodenlye,
Turneth the other ear likewise for humilitee?
He would not so doe by the crosse in my purse,
Yet I trust his soule fareth never the worse.

Ancient Metrical History of the House of Stanley.

Prior Robert Steward, in his *Anglia Sacra*, has, in a few words, said of James Stanley, "Armīs quam libris peritior."

James Stanley had, according to Willis, been presented to the prebend of Driffield, which he resigned in the year when he was made Warden of Manchester.^c

It has been supposed that this warden was indebted for his promotion in the church to the powerful interest of Margaret Countess of Richmond and Derby.

In 1491 Warden Stanley was installed prebendary of *Yatminster Prima* in the cathedral Church of Salisbury, which he exchanged the next year for *Bemister Prima* in the same church. In 1493 he was made dean of *St Martin's-le-Grand* in London.

Dr Knight, in his Life of Erasmus, has offered reasons for the supposition that James Stanley was the same young and rich priest who resided with Erasmus in his house at Paris in the year 1496, and who had refused a bishopric from a consciousness of his insufficiency, but was to have possession of it the following year, when he had made some further progress in learning. It is added, that he made great offers to Erasmus to instruct him, though in vain. Erasmus slighted the overtures, because they were calculated to draw from his studies.^u

But the warden's great frailty was the infraction of his vow of celibacy, which by many authors has been severely commented upon. More charitable animadversions, however, are to be found in the Metrical History of the House of Stanley:

^c Other accounts state that it was the prebend in the cathedral of St Pauls which he resigned upon being made warden. This was, however, held by James Stanley, Primus.

^u Mr Greswell, who was not aware that there were two successive James Stanleys, wardens, has endeavoured to show that the adolescens of Dr Knight must have been sixty-four years old. But Hollingworth's testimony is fatal to this objection.

As manye, more pyttie ! sacred orders doe take,
 For promotion rather than for Christ's sake,
 And ofte longe of freinds (the verie truth to tell)
 Yt ys great grace yf such one doe prove well ;
 Great abuse in priesthoode and matrimonye,
 Where fancye of freinds shall choose for the partye.

December 5th, 1500, James Stanley was admitted archdeacon of Richmond, (*Willis*, Vol. I. p. 131,) and, five years afterwards, made precentor of Salisbury, having been also prebendary of the churches of Southwell and Rippon.

A. D. 1505, care was taken of the reparation of the chapel standing on Salford Bridge, built by Thomas de Booth in the reign of Edward the Third.

During this wardenship great additions were made to the structure of the Collegiate Church "Who contributed most to the building," says Hollingworth, "is not certainly known ; but the names and arms of the Stanleys, Wests, Radcliffes of Radcliffe, (of whom some remains of alabaster monuments are said to have been visible formerly,) Byrons, Radcliffes of Ordsall, and others, in the windows, before they were destroyed, witnessed their assistance in it." Richard Bexwicke is also recorded to have done "many works of piety and charity towards the master and fellows, and for the decent and honourable reparation of the choir, and body of the church ; and other parishioners, doubtless, did freely contribute thereto ;" as, for instance, a private individual of the name of Bibby built the porch of the church.—Hollingworth's *Mancuniensis*.

The family of Bexwicke erected the superb stalls and wood-work on the north side of the choir. Those of the south are attributable to the munificence of Warden Stanley. *

It is supposed that the chapter-house was raised by the members of the college, assisted by contributions from other individuals. This is indicated by the remains of sundry coats of arms near the ceiling. The erection of a chapel on the east of

* The accounts vary much with regard to the respective share which the warden and the family of Bexwicke had in the building of the choir. In one MS. it is stated that Richard Bexwicke erected the walls and wood-work, not of the north, but of the south side of the choir ; but the merchant's mark of this individual on the north side of the choir, and the arms of Warden Stanley on the south, fix to each their proper portion of expence and bounty. The north side of the choir is again attributed, not to Richard *Bexwicke*, but to Richard *Beck*, who married Isabel, the daughter of Richard Bexwicke. It is in vain to attempt the reconciliation of all these various statements.

the choir, which was dedicated to OUR LADY THE VIRGIN MARY," is attributed to the Lord de la Warre.^x

"Anno 1506, James Stanley, master or keeper of the College, Sir John Bamford, William Bradford, John Lording, Rich. Massy, Ralph Mody, Henry Syddall, and John Bexwicke, priests, fellows, parsons, or rectors, and proprietors, of the church, granted certain privileges to JESUS CHAPPELL, on the south, built by the said Richard, (son of Roger) Bexwicke, of Manchester, and the chaplaines of the guild, (the first or chiefe of which was Sir Oliver Thornelly,) that they should not only officiate there, but also should receive all gifts, oblations, and obventions given to the service of Jesus Christ, and in the honour of the name of Jesus."—Hollingworth's *Mancuniensis*.

A chapel, next to Jesus Chapel, was built by Thomas de Booth, Knight. The saint to whom it was dedicated was ST NICHOLAS, whose name a chauntry belonging to the same family had borne in the old church of St Mary.

William Galley, merchant of Manchester, Elizabeth, his wife, and Nicholas, his brother and executor, erected, at their own cost, the lowest chapel on the south side of the church. William Galley lies buried in the middle of this chauntry, under a stone which recorded its foundation.^y The chapel was dedicated to ST GEORGE, where morning services were wont to be preached, and where the statue of Saint George on horseback was hanged up.—Hollingworth's *Mancuniensis*.

The statues of the Virgin Mary, and of St Dyonysius, the two other patron saints, were upon the two highest pillars next to the choir. Unto them usually did men bow at their coming into the church.—Hollingworth's *Mancuniensis*.

ST JAMES'S CHAPEL is said to have been founded by Hulton of Ordshall, afterwards Hulton of Hulton Park, whose arms were to be seen on the south side of the chapel in stone.—Ainscough's *MS*. "In it," says Hollingworth, "is a pardon, under the picture of the resurrection of Christ from the sepulchre. The pardon for *V Paternosters*, *V Aves*, and a *Credo*, is xxvi thousand and xxvi days of pardon."

^w This information is collected from a MS. pen. the late Rev. J. Brookes. Another account, (probably an erroneous one,) states that the chapel was dedicated to St Michael.

^x This structure is usually ascribed to a successive warden, George West, third son of Sir Thomas West, Lord de la Warre, but doubtfully. In the ancient MS. (pen. the Rev. J. Brookes,) it is said, "but some are of opinion that the warden was not the founder, but his brother the Lord de la Warre, his arms being found there, without any distinction of a younger brother.

^y William Galley died A. D. 1508.

James Stanley, warden, and his natural son, John Stanley, undertook to build the large chapel on the north side of the church in honour of **JESUS CHRIST AND JOHN THE BAPTIST**.

Hollingworth describes the windows as having been all richly painted : in his time they were more entire. The following is an account of some of them : " The east window of the south aisle had Michael and his angels ; the nine orders of angels fighting with the dragon and his angels. The east window of the north aisle had St Austin and St Ambrose singing '*Te Deum Laudamus*;' and the other window some canonical or ecclesiastical story. In the middle stanchion of every window, especially in the twenty-four uppermost windows, was the picture of the Virgin Mary ; but at the uppermost end of the outmost north alley, near to Strangeway's chapel, was a very rich window, whereby was described our Saviour's arraignment and crucifixion, with some pictures of the Trinity, with these verses :

God that is of mighty most,
Fadur, and Son, and Holy Gost ;
Gyff [grace to them that shal doe well,]
And keep thayr soulis out of Hell,
That made thys wyndowe, as ye may see,
In worshippe of the Treinity. ^a

" In the corner, under this window, it is probable that there stood an altar, and that it was a place of much devotion. It was said it was for the country."

In 1506, James Stanley was promoted to the see of Ely by the pope's bull of provision, bearing date 17th July. The temporalities were restored, November 5th following, by the king, who also, by a grant dated the 13th of the same month, gave him the whole profits of the see, during the vacancy, to the amount of nearly L. 2500. On this occasion he resigned the wardenship of Manchester.^a

^a In copy another of Mr Hollingworth's *Mancuniensis*, a fragment of other lines is added :

" Shu*.....gode ending.

" *.....ys wy-do goff any thyng."

^a The arms of Bishop Stanley, as given in the *Anglia Sacra*, are entirely wrong, and bear no resemblance to his real ones, which are thus blazoned : Quarterly of 4 pieces. 1st quarter, quarterly, 1st and 4th Argent on a bend Azure, 3 bucks heads caboshed, Or, for Stanley ; 2d and 3d, Or, on a chief indented Azure, 3 plates for Lathom ; 2d and 3d Gules, 3 human legs conjoined at the thighs and armed, in triangle, Argent, spurs, Or, for the Isle of Man ; 4th, as the first. These arms are ascertained from an ornament belonging to the old episcopal palace at Somersham or Downham.

King Harrye the VIIth., a prynce noble and sage,
 Made him bishop (for wisdom and parentage)
 Of Ely. Manye a day was he bishopp there.
 He builded Sommersome, the byshoppes' chief manner,
 A great vyander as any in his dayes,
 For byshoppes that then was, this was no dispraise.

Metrical History of the House of Stanley.

CHAPTER VI.

ANNALS OF THE WARDENSHIP OF ROBERT CLIFF, AND OF HIS SUCCESSOR, —
 ALDAY, INCLUDING A PERIOD FROM 1509 TO 1518.

From various sources.

THE Bishop of Ely having resigned the wardenship in 1509, was succeeded by Robert Cliff, the sixth warden, who is variously stiled B.D. and D.D.

After the late warden, James Stanley, had been promoted to the Bishopric of Ely, his usual residence in summer was at Somersham, near St Ives, in Huntingdonshire. The winter he generally spent with his brother in Derbyshire, as the Hundred of Derby was then called, making at the same time frequent visits to Manchester, where he also sojourned; his place of abode being at Alport, near which a street still retains the name of the Bishop's Gate. Fuller, in adverting to these places of residence, has observed, that he blamed not the prelate for passing the summer with his brother, the Earl of Derby, in Lancashire, but "for living all the winter at Somersham with one who was not his sister, and who wanted nothing to make her his wife save marriage."^b

During the wardenship of Robert Cliff, Hugh Oldham, D.D. and Bishop of Exeter, founded the Grammar School of Manchester, which was subjected to the visitation of the warden and fellows of the college.

We have no information how long Cliff held his wardenship; but in the course

^b Dr Ormrod has supposed that this lady was the mother of the Bishop's natural son, Sir John Stanley of Hondford.

of four or five years after he had entered upon the duties of his office he was succeeded by Master Alday.^c

In 1513, when Sir Edward Stanley led the forces of Lancashire and Cheshire into Flodden Field, the Bishop of Ely sent his own retainers to the expedition, under the command of his natural son, "yonge John Stanlye," who, for the distinguished bravery he displayed on this occasion, won his golden spurs.^d

The Bishop of Ely continued to feel the deepest interest in the prosperity of the church of Manchester, to which he had so liberally contributed. In the year 1513, the spacious and elegant chapel dedicated to St John the Baptist appears to have been finished. The joint contributors were, as has been stated, Bishop Stanley and Sir John Stanley, who held the manor of Hondford, in right of his wife Margaret, then a minor.^e Over the door of the chancel of St John the Baptist

^c Mr Whatton was the first to enumerate among the list of wardens the name of Alday; of this warden we know nothing.—Robert Cliff, after he left Manchester, became rector of Northwold and Outwell, in the county of Norfolk.

^d Next with Sir John Stanley there yede
The Bishop of Ely's servants bold.
Yonge John Stanlye shall be a knight
As he is well worthye for to be.

The identity of the bishop's illegitimate son with Sir John Stanley, mentioned in the ancient ballad of Flodden Field, has been rendered more than probable in an elegant dissertation on "the Earls of Derby, and the verse writers and poets of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries," written (for private circulation) by Thomas Heywood, Esq. F. A. S.

^e The following account of Sir John Stanley is collected by Dr Ormrod in his *History of Cheshire*. "He founded a chauntry in Manchester Collegiate Church, where the bones of his father yet lie under an altar tomb, graced with his effigy. The south chancel of Cheadle bears in its windows the arms of this Sir John in the place usually assigned to the insignia of a founder; and for some other benefaction now unknown, John, abbot of Westminster, grants to this Sir John Stanley and Dame Margaret, his wife, and to John Stanley, their heir, and Anne Stanley, his sister, that they shall be prayed for in that monastery 'in vitâ pariter et in morte,' and in all other places in their order through England, and that their names shall be enrolled in their martyrology *post obitum*. The grant is dated Jan. 5, 1527, under the common seal of the abbey. For the sequel of Sir John Stanley's life, see Lord Herbert's *History of Henry the Eighth*. Among the articles preferred against Cardinal Wolsey, the thirty-eighth article states, 'That the said Cardinal did call before him Sir John Stanley, Knight, which had taken a farm by convent seal of the abbot and convent of Chester, and afterwards by his power and might, contrary to right, committed the said Sir John Stanley to the prison of fleet, by the space of one year, until such time as he compelled the said Sir John to release his convent seal to one Leghe of Adlington, which married one Lark's daughter, which woman the said Lord Cardinal kept, and had with her

were placed the arms of Stanley, (base line,) impaling Hondford, with this inscription, "Vanitas vanitatum, et omnia vanitas.—Obsecramus ut adjuvatis nos Jacobum Elyensem episcopum, Joannem Stanley militem, et Margaretam uxorem ejus ac parentes eorum, in orationibus vestris apud dominum Jesum Christum, qui hanc capellam in ejus nomine et in honorem Joannis Baptistæ fabricaverunt anno incarnationis 1513." On many parts of the glass in the chapel was inserted MEMORATE NOVISSIMA.

In 1514, the bishop was employed in building a smaller chapel on the north side of the larger one of Saint John the Baptist; and he was advised by Master Alday, the warden, to order in his will that there should be erected for himself within it a tomb. Being probably in ill health, he this year made his last testament.—(*See Testamenta Vetusta, Vol. II. p. 535.*)

THE WILL OF THE BISHOP OF ELY.

"James Stanley, by the sufferance of our Lord God, Bishop of Ely, 20th March 1514: My body to be buried in a new chapel in my cathedral church of Ely, or else in my new chapel now in building at Manchester. I will that the chapel be made for me to be buried and rest my bones in, at the east end of my cathedral church, for the which I will 100 marks to be bestowed upon walls, iron-work, glass, and covering, besides my tomb; on which tomb I will 40 marks be bestowed, by the advice of Master Alday, Sir Ranulph Pole, and Sir John Claydon, my receiver. I give and bequeath to remain in the said chapel a chalice gilt, &c.

"I will that another chapel be builded and made at Manchester, on the north side of the church, betwixt St James's Chapel and the east end of the same church, with a tomb therein for me, by advice of Master Alday, master warden of Manchester, with L. 20 a-year for furnishing two priests to sing in my said chapel.

"To Dr Standish 40s.—I will that Sir John Stanley, Knight, and Thomas Stanley, his brother, William Serjaunt, and Alexander Tyldesley, be my executors."

In the year 1515, James Stanley, Bishop of Ely, died:

two children, whereupon the said Sir John Stanley upon displeasure taken in his heart made himself monk in Westminster, and there died."

He did end his life in merry Manchester,
 And right honorably lieth he buried there
 In his chapel, which he began of freestone.
 Sir John Stanlye built it oute when he was gone.
 God send his soule to the heavenly companye.
 Farewell, godlye James, Byshopp of Elye.

Metrical History of the House of Stanley.

Agreeably to the directions of his father, Sir John Stanley undertook the completion of the smaller chauntry, within which, on May 23, 1515, the bishop's will was proved. Here also a tomb of gray marble was erected, on the table of which is still to be seen a small figure of the bishop in brass, in his episcopal vestments, with the following inscription at his feet.

"Off yur charite pray for the soule of James Stanley, sutyme bushype of Ely and Warden of this Colle of Manchestr, which decessed oute of this transitoare worlde the xxxi. daye of March, the yer of our Lord God mcccc. & xv. upon whos soul and all Christian souls Jhesu have mercy.

"Vive deo gratus, toto mundo tumultus,

"Crimine mundatus, semper transire paratus.

"Fili hominum usque quo gravi corde ut quid diligitis vanitatem et quæritis mendacium.

"Utinam saperent et intelligerent, ac novissima providerent."

The character of Sir James Stanley has been variously drawn.

Godwin has libelled this prelate's fame, endeavouring to cancel, on account of one frailty, all the good actions that he had done, by saying, that he had died without performing any one thing deserving to be remembered. Willis has, however, rescued his name from unmerited obloquy, and has paid him that credit for his liberality which must ever render his memory revered in Manchester. "He was extremely generous and hospitable; a benefactor to Jesus College, by giving to it the impropriation of the rectory of Great Shelford, near Cambridge, partly for founding a fellowship therein, the patronage of which he reserved to his successors in the see of Ely: he also compiled the statutes of that college, and got them confirmed by Pope Julius II."—"He likewise built a noble chapel at Manchester, and much improved the episcopal palace at Somersham. Add to this his provident care in improving the patronage of his see by another fellowship in the same university, which still remains in the nomination of his successors."

It is probable that Alday ceased to be warden about the year 1518; but whether by death or resignation is unknown.

CHAPTER VII.

ANNALS OF THE WARDENSHIP OF GEORGE WEST, A. D. 1518 TO 1535.

From HOLLINGWORTH'S *Mancuniensis* and Mr GRESWELL'S collections, with additions.

GEORGE WEST, the seventh warden, was the third son of Sir Thomas West, Lord De la Warre, which title came to this family upon the death of the founder of the college without issue.^f

It may be worthy of remark, that during this wardenship the town was increasing in opulence and importance. "One writeth," remarks Hollingworth "that about 1520,^g there were three famous clothiers living in the 'north countre, viz. Cuthbert of Kendal, Hodgkins of Halifax, and Martin Brian (some say Byrom) of Manchester. Every one of these kept a great number of servants at work, carders, spinners, weavers, fullers, dyers, sheermen, &c. to the great admiration of those that came into their houses to behold them."^h

We know little or nothing of the ecclesiastical annals of Manchester during the time that the wardenship was held by George West. The reformation was com-

^f Joan, the sister and heir of Thomas de la Warre, rector of Manchester, and Baron de la Warre, having married Sir Thomas West, Thomas, their eldest son, succeeded to the title, and married Ida, daughter and co-heir of Almarick, Baron St Amand. He dying without issue was succeeded by his brother, Sir Reginald West, A. D. 1427.—Edmondson. Sir Reginald had been governor of St Lo, A.D. 1416; captain of the castle of La Mote in Normandy 1418; served in the French wars anno 9 Henry the Fifth; was summoned to Parliament from 15th July 1427 to 1450, in which year he died and was buried at Broadwater in Sussex. He married Eleanor, daughter of Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, by whom he had issue. Sir Richard West, who succeeded to the title in 1450, married Katharine, daughter of Robert, Lord Hungerford, and was summoned to Parliament from 1459 to 1473. He died 1476, and was buried at Broadwater in Sussex. Sir Richard West was succeeded by his eldest son Sir Thomas, who was installed knight of the garter 11th May 1511; died 1526. By his first wife, Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Sir John Mortimer of Mortimer Hall, in the county of Worcester, knight, he had a son, Thomas, and three daughters; and by his second wife, Eleanor, daughter of Sir Rodger Copley, knight, three sons, Owen, George, (the sixth warden of Manchester,) Leonard, and a daughter.

^g The date is in Mr Hollingworth's *Mancuniensis*, by a mistake, stated at 1120.

^h At that period the following list of prices of commodities is given, continuing to the year 1524:—A horse, L. 2, 4s.; an ox, L. 1, 15s. 8d.; a cow, 15s. 6d.; a colt, 7s. 8d.; a sheep, 5s.; a hog, 5s.; a calf, 4s. 1d.; a cock, 3d.; a hen, 2d.; wheat per quarter, 11s. 3d.; ale per gallon, 2d.; day labourer's wages, 3d.—See Aikin's *History of Manchester*.

mencing, and that the adherents to the Romish tenets were becoming in Manchester somewhat unstable, becomes suspicious from the remarkable circumstance that the chauntries of its collegiate church were in the gradual process of being transferred from the possession of their founders, to become the property of other families more anxious for the maintenance of the Catholic faith.

The chapel on the east of the choir, built by the Lord de la Warre, which had been dedicated to OUR LADY THE VIRGIN MARY, was disposed of to the Byron family of Clayton, whence it acquired the name of Byron's Chapel.¹

The chauntry of St Nicholas, "Thomas Delbooth, son and heir of Thomas Booth, Knight, the founder of it, gave to Hugh Scholes, chaplain, along with a certain place in Bexwick, together with the advowson of the chauntry of St Nicholas in St Mary's church, in Manchester; and the said Hugh Scholes gave the said premises to Sir John Trafford, Knight."—Hollingworth's *Mancuniensis*. This chapel was afterwards named the Trafford Chapel.

St George's Chapel, built by William Galley of Manchester, was sold to the family of Radcliffe.

St James's Chapel, founded by Hulton of Hulton Park, was transferred to the family of Strangeways. It was afterwards named the Strangeways's Chapel.

An additional small chapel appears to have been built, which was immediately attached to the south side of Jesus Chapel. This was founded by the ancient family of Hulme. It bears the name of Hulme's Chapel.

Among the possessions which had been bequeathed for the support of the chauntries were three burgages in the Milngate and Fennel Street.

In the year 1535, George West, in anticipation probably of the downfall with which the Roman Catholic faith in England was menaced, resigned his wardenship, and renounced a clerical life.¹

¹ In this chapel are the figures in brass of a knight in armour, (supposed to be Sir John Byron, Knight, and his lady.) A legend in brass appears to have been let in by way of border round the outward extremity of the stone, but none of it now remains." Mr Barritt, however, has conjectured that the figures belong to the family of West, Lords de la Warre.

² This warden married Elizabeth, daughter and co-heir of Sir Thomas Morton of Litchlade. Thomas and Owen, the elder brothers of the warden, dying without issue, the title of Delaware descended to Sir William West, oldest son of the warden. He was, however, disinherited by act of Parliament, 3d Edward the Sixth; attainted in the reign of Queen Mary, but was restored in blood by act of Parliament, 5th Elizabeth, and created Baron de la Warre to him and his heirs-male by patent, 12th Elizabeth. In 1579 he sold the manor of Manchester, and died 1595.

CHAPTER VIII.

ANNALS OF THE WARDENSHIP OF GEORGE COLLYER, A. D. 1535 TO 1557.

From HOLLINGWORTH'S *Mancuniensis* and Mr GRESWELL'S Collections, with considerable additions.

GEORGE COLLYER of Collyer, near Stone in Staffordshire, succeeded as warden to George West, kinsman of the Lord de la Warre. In the year when he was raised to this office, Henry the Eighth, in the presence of his whole court, had assumed the title of Head of the Church of England. But George Collyer, who was a zealous Catholic, refused to acknowledge the king's supremacy.

It is unfortunate that we have little or no information concerning the very early progress of the Reformation in Manchester. Most of the great families in the vicinity of the town continued long to be rigid Catholics, and their example and influence would have great weight with the populace. It is probably owing to this circumstance that, during a subsequent effervescent period, when many religious houses were rased to their foundation, the integrity of the collegiate church and college of Manchester was carefully preserved.

A. D. 1533, the king granted the famous antiquary, Leland, a commission under the great seal "to make search after England's antiquities, and peruse the libraries of all cathedrals, abbies, priories, colleges, and places where records, writings, and secrets of antiquity were repositied. He spent about six years in travelling about England and Wales, and collecting materials for the history and antiquities of the nation." The following is the report which he gave of Manchester upon his visit to this town :—

"I rode over Mersey Water by a great bridge of tymbre, caullid Crofford Bridge. And after, I saw Mr Prestwicke's place on the left hand over Irwel, wherby the lord of Derby hath a place and a parke, caullid Alparte Parke. ^k Hereabout I passed over Medlok River, and so within lesse than a mile to Manchestre. Manchestre, on the south side of Irwell River, standith in Salfordshire, and is the fairest, best builded, quickest, and most populus tounne of al *Lancastreshire*, yet is in hit but one paroch church, but is a college and almost throughowt doble ilyd

^k Alparte or Alport Park had been rented by the first warden of the Collegiate Church from Thomas West, Lord de la Warre. (See Note ^d, page 43.) Mr Palmer of Manchester states that the rent paid for it had been four marks per annum. But in what way it came into the possession of the Earl of Derby we are not satisfactorily informed.

ex quadrato lapide durissimo, whereof a goodly quarre is hard by the towne. Ther be divers stone bridgis in the towne, but the best of iii. arches is over Irwel. This bridge (cawllid *Salfold* Bridge) devideth *Manchestre* from *Salford*, the wich is a large suburbe to Manchestre. On this bridg is a praty little chapel. The next is the bridge that is over Hirk river, on the wich the fair buildid college standith, as in the verie point of the mouth of hit. For hard thereby it rennith into Wyver. On Hirk be divers fair milles that serve the towne.

“ In the towne be ij. fair market placys, and almost ij. flyte shottes without the towne, beneth on the same of Irwel yet be seene the dikes and fundations of *Old Man-castel* yn a ground now inclosid. The stanes of the ruines of this castle wer translated toward making of bridgges for the towne.

“ It not long season sins the chirch of *Manchestre* was collegiated. The toun of Manchestre stondith on a hard rokke of stone, els *Irwel*, as wel apperith in the west ripe, had been noiful to the towne. *Irwel* is not navigable but in sum places, for vadyes and rokkes.”—*Itin.* Vol. V. p. 78.

In the year 1536 an act was passed, directed against vigils or wakes, which in Manchester had no little influence in stemming the ascendancy of popery over the minds of the populace. The origin of the vigils or wakes, which, as we have shown, were very anciently held in the old churches of St Michael and Mary in Manchester, has been before explained. The progress of their gradual abuse has been very eloquently traced by the great historian of this town, Mr Whittaker. “ But few persons,” says this writer, “ are ever to be entrusted to feast, and fewer are to be allowed to meet in numbers together. There is a contagious viciousness in crowds; though each individual of them, alone and by himself, would act with a religious propriety, yet all together they act with irreligion and folly. The fire imperceptibly runs from breast to heart, each contributes to swell the tide of spirits beyond its proper bounds, and wickedness and absurdity enter at the breach that is made in reason. And this viciousness is always augmented in its force, when the grosser spirits, that are merely the result of feasting, mingle with and ferment the tide. The feasting of the saint’s day is as soon abused. And it seems to have been greatly so before the reign of Edgar, as the intemperance of the festival was then creeping even into the vigil, and even mixing with the offices of religion. In the very body of the church, when the people were assembled for devotion, they were beginning to mind diversions, and introduce drinkings. And so gross an abuse of the eve could have stolen in only from the licentiousness of the festival.—Whittaker’s *Manchester*, Vol. II. 4to, p. 444.

For these vigils, or wakes, Lancashire was from the olden times renowned; re-

lies of the sports by which these were characterised being still familiar to this country, under the name of Robin Hood's plays, rush-bearings, morris-dancing, guisings, &c. Previous to the time of the Reformation, the pageant of Robin Hood was actually exhibited within the sacred walls of the collegiate church of Manchester.¹ It was a favourite interlude, which had been generally got up by the priests. A pageant was prepared; the bold outlaw presided as lord of the May, attended by Maid Marian as queen or lady of the May, and by archers in green, denominated Robin Hood's men. The expences of the splendid dresses, minstrels, morris-dancers, and the subsequent feast of bowers, which was held in the church-yard, were usually defrayed by the church-wardens.^m Their indemnification and profit were derived from a collection made from house to house in the parish.

¹ This will be shown when an account is given of Mr Bradford's visit to Manchester during Edward the Sixth's reign. The practice of exhibiting minstrelsy and games within the church occurred so late as the seventeenth century. In the visitation of the diocese of St David's in 1662, the following inquiries were made. "Have no minstrels, no morris-dancers, no dogs, hawks, or hounds, been suffered to be brought, or come into your church to the disturbance of your congregation?"—Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. I. 4to, p. 208.

^m In the church-warden's and chamberlain's accounts of Kingston-upon-Thames there are various debits for the show of Robin Hood; such as,

To Fygge the taborer,	-	-	-	-	-	L.0	6	0
For painting of the Morys garments, and for certain great leveries,								
[badges or cockades,]	-	-	-	-	-	0	2	4
For silver paper for the Mores-dawnsars,	-	-	-	-	-	0	0	7
Four yerds of cloth for the fole's cote,	-	-	-	-	-	0	2	0
For kendall for Robyn-Hode's cotes,	-	-	-	-	-	0	1	3
For painting of a banner for Robin Hode	-	-	-	-	-	0	0	3
To Mayde Marian for her labour for two years,	-	-	-	-	-	0	2	0
For 2 payre of glovys for Robyn Hood and Mayde Maryan,						0	0	3
For little John's cote,	-	-	-	-	-	0	8	0
For 3 yerds of white for the frere's cote, (<i>Friar Tuck</i>),	-	-	-	-	-	0	3	0

In the church-warden's accounts of St Mary's parish of Reading, (see Coates's *History of Reading*.) there is the following item:—

Paid to the minstrelles and hobby-horse on May-day,	-	L.0	3	0
Paid to the Morrys-daunsers and menstrelles the Sunday after May-day,	0	0	20	

It may be remarked, that when the expences were once incurred, of which the showy dresses of Robin Hood and Maid Marian formed a principal part, little more outlay would for some years be required. We find the following charge made to the church-wardens at Kingston-upon-Thames:—"For spunging and brushing Robin-hodes cotys, twopence."

In the church-warden's accounts of St Helen's, Abingdon, under the year 1566, eighteenpence is charged for setting up Robin Hood's bower.—See Mr Nichol's *Illustrations of Ancient Manners and Expences*, p. 143.

This was named the *gathering* for Robin Hood.^a The ancient play of Robin Hood had probably its origin in the fondness for the sports of archery. On May-day, it was customary before day-break for youths of both sexes to proceed to the woods and procure boughs of trees and green leaves wherewith to decorate their houses and bowers. Here, probably, was held the competition of the young men in archery,^o for which Lancashire, above almost every other county, was famed. The procession of the queen of May followed, for which the sacred doors of the church were irreligiously opened. The festivity ended by feasting in bowers and arbours, set up in the churchyard.^p

^a In Coate's *History of Reading*, (p. 214,) there is in the church-warden's accounts of Lawrence parish, under the year 1499, the following item :—" Received of the *gaderyng* of Robyn-Hod, xixs." In the church-warden's and chamberlain's books of Kingston-upon-Thames, (16th Henry VIII.) there is the following entry :—" Rec^d. at the Church Ail and Robyn-Hode, athings deduct-ed, L.3, 10s. 6d."

The importance attached to the gathering for Robin Hood is curiously illustrated in a sermon of Bishop Latimer, preached before Edward the Sixth, in which he inveighs against the profanity. " I came once myself," says he, " to a place, riding a journey homeward from London, and sent word over night into the town that I would preach there in the morning, because it was a holiday ; and I took my horse and my company and went thither, (I thought I should have found a great company in the church ;) when I came there the church-door was fast locked. I tarried there half-an-hour or more ; at last the key was found, and one of the parish comes to me and says, ' This is a busy day with us, we cannot heare you. This is Robin Hooode's daye. The parish is gone abroad to gather for Robin Hooode.' I thought my rocket should have been regarded, though I were not ; but it would not serve, but was fain to give place to Robin Hooode's men."

^o Noble as well as royal persons entered into the May sports. King Henry the Eighth and Queen Catharine partook of the diversion, and he, with his courtiers, in the beginning of his reign, rose on May-day very early to fetch May or green boughs, and went with bows and arrows shooting to the wood.—In a later period a puritanical writer denounced, after the following manner, the effects of fetching boughs from the wood. " The third abuse is, that you (because you will lose no time) doe use commonly to runne into woodes in the night-time amongst maidens to get bowes, insomuche as I have hearde of tenne maidens which went to fet May, and nine of them came home with childe."

^p A puritanical writer in the reign of Elizabeth loudly exclaims against the abuses of these kinds of feasts, especially of that of my Lord of Misrule, which may be taken as an example of what they all resembled. He says, " then march this heathen company towards the church and church-yarde, their pypers pyping, their drummers thundering, their stumper dancing, their belles iynghing, their handkerchiefs fluttering about their heads like maddemen, their hobbie-horses and other monsters skirmishing among the throng ; and in this sorte they goe to the church (though the minister be at prayer or preaching) dauncing and swinging their handkerchiefs over their heades in the church like devils incarnate, with such a confused noise that no

Henry the Eighth found that the games, which had been prepared for the populace by priests and monks, retained such possession over the public mind, that he readily yielded to the exhortations of the reformers to enact a law against their continuance. But this edict was of no farther effect in the play of Robin Hood, which was the favourite pageant of Manchester, than in preserving the interior of the church from being profaned by its mockeries. The scene of the exhibition was changed and nothing more. In the place of being held within the walls of the church it was removed to the church-yard.

“Anno 1540, Henry the Eighth founded the bishopric of Chester. It was made up of the two archdeaconries of Chester and Richmond. It was first ordained to be within the province of Canterbury by the letters-patent of the foundation. But the king shortly after, by act of Parliament, annexed it to the province of York; and because the clergy of Lancashire and Cheshire, and some other places, were much eased of their long journeys, and the bishopricke had but small revenues, mortuaries were allowed to the bishop from the clergy at the death of every incumbent respectively, (viz.) the best horse, apparrell, bookes, signet, &c.”—Hollingworth's *Mancuniensis*.

At this period the collegiate church was beginning to lose much of its pristine importance and utility by the episcopal, archideaconal, and decanal synods being blended together. Mr Whittaker has clearly explained this part of the ecclesiastical history of England. “When a bishopric was first partitioned out into archdeaconries, Chester (the ancient Roman colony) was made the capital of that archideaconal division, which extended its jurisdiction over the south of Lancashire. In the year 1540 Henry the Eighth founded the bishopric of Chester; and in the year following the north and south of Lancashire were combined, as they have

man can heare his own voyce. Then the foolish people they looke, they stare, they laugh, they fleere, and mount upon formes and pewes to see these goodly pageants solemnized in this sort. Then, after this, about the church they goe againe and againe, and so forth into the church-yard, where they have commonly their sommer haules, their bowers, arbours, and banquetting-houses set up, wherein they feast, banquet, and dance all that day, and (peradventure) all that night too.”

The preparations which were made for the feastings of Robin Hood may be judged of by the following entry in the church-warden's and chamberlain's account of Kingston-upon-Thames during the reign of Henry the Seventh. There was purchased for the feast a kylderkin of 3 half-pennye bere, and a kilderkin of singgyl bere, 7 bushels of whete, 2 bushels and $\frac{1}{2}$ of rye, 3 shepe, a lamb, 2 calvys, 6 pygges, 3 bushell of colys.

For further information regarding the pageants of Robin Hood, see Mr Douce's *Illustrations of Shakspeare*, Mr Brande's *Popular Antiquities*, and Mr Hone's *Treatise on Ancient Mysteries*.

ever since continued, under one bishop, and re-united to their ancient and original province in York.”—“The bishopric and its included archdeaconries were then moulded together, a new and distinct diocese having been formed out of them, the revenues of which were nearly all engrossed by the income of the bishopric, and the power swallowed up in the authority of the bishop.”—“Every dean was now required to signify to his ordinary, from time to time, the death of every parson or vicar in his deanery within ten days afterward, and the want of any curate within fifteen; he was also required once a-month to transmit to the ordinary, or his chancellor, all the presentments that came to his hands; and once a-quarter, at the least, to deliver in the names of all the parsons and vicars that were non-resident on their benefices. And this shows the monthly and quarterly chapters of the deaneries to have been continued to that period.”—(*Whittaker’s History of Manchester*, Vol. II. 4to, p. 370, 379, &c. 387 and 392.)

Another object of attention during this reforming period was the great evil arising from the privilege of sanctuaries. “The towne of Manchester,” says Hollingworth, “having been formerly and anciently a sanctuary, was one of the seaven of all the cathedralls, collegiate parish churches, hospitalls, or chappels, which were allowed and taken to be places of privilege and tuition for harme of life for all and singular offenders and malefactours, except wilful murther, rape, burglary, robbery by the high way, or in houses, felonious burning of houses, and their abettors.”

“But within a yeare or two the sanctuary being found prejudiciall to the wealth, credit, great occupyings, and good order of the said towne, which towne, saith the statute, it is expedient that honest and true credible persons, and not any manner of light persons, should inhabit, by occasioning idlenesse, unlawfull games, unthriftiness, and other enormities in the labourers, servants, and others of the said towne. And because divers thefts, robberies, and felonyes were committed, and the town not walled, nor had any mayor, sheriffe, bayliffe, or other head officer than the steward of the lord of the manor, nor any prison nor gaole, the said act of Parliament was annulled, and the sanctuary removed to west Chester, which had no such trade of merchandize, and had a strong gaole, a mayor, and bayliffes. The constables of Manchester were also directed to associate and take with them twenty of the inhabitants to assist them to conduct such sanctuary-men as are at present in Manchester, and to place them with the like privileges under the protection of the mayor and sheriffs of Chester.”

The following is an abridgement of the act of parliament concerning the trans-

lation of the sanctuary from Manchester to west Chester. It is dated 38 Hen. viii. ^a

The preamble to this act states, that, by a former act, the town of Manchester, amongst other towns, was allowed to be a sanctuary and place of privilege and tuition, for term of life, of all and singular offenders and malefactors, of whatsoever quality, kind, or nature, all and every their offences be, even though of a capital nature, other than such as are excepted in the said act.^r It then proceeds as follows :—

“ Whereas the said town of Manchester is, and hath a long time been a town well inhabited, distinguished for its trade both in linens and woollens, whereby the inhabitants have obtained riches and wealthy livings, and have employed many artificers and poor folks to work within the said town ; and, by reason of great occupying, good order, strict and true dealing of the inhabitants of the town, many strangers, as well of Ireland as of other places, have repaired to the said town, with linen, yarn, wool, and other necessary wares for making of cloths to be sold there, and have used to credit and trust the poor inhabitants until they might manufacture and sell the goods thus made, wherein hath consisted much of the commonwealth of the said town ; and many poor folks have had living, and children and servants have been virtuously brought up in honest and true labour, out of all idleness :

“ And for as much as of necessity the linen yarn must lie out, as well in the night as in the day continually, for the space of one-half year, to be whited before it can be made cloth ; and as the woollen cloth there made must hang upon the tenter to be dried before it can be dressed up ; and as for the safeguard thereof it is expedient that substantial, honest, just, true, and credible persons be and dwell in the said town, and no manner of light person or persons be inhabitants :

“ And whereas as many strangers inhabiting in other townships have used customably to resort to the said town of Manchester with a great number of cottons, to be uttered and sold to the inhabitants, and as thereby many poor people have been well set awork, as well with dressing and greezing of the said cot-

^a See Chap. xv. xxxii. Hen. viii.

^r The places appointed in the act here alluded to were Wells in Somersetshire, Westminster, Manchester, Northampton, Norwich, York, Derby, and Lancaster, which were retained as sanctuaries when all others were abolished. The crimes excepted, and to which these sanctuaries were to be no protection, were wilful murder, rape, burglary, robbery on the highway, or in houses, putting the owner, &c. in fear of life ; felonious burning of houses, and sacrilege.

tons, as with putting to size the same : And for as much as divers light and evil-disposed persons, since the making of the statute, for certain offences by them committed, have of late repaired and made their abode within the said town of Manchester, and have lived in idleness not alone, but, by giving evil occasion to honest and true labourers and servants within the said town to live in such sort of idleness ; have also allured and induced divers to practise and use unlawful games, whereby they have consumed and misspent their master's goods being in their hands : And as over that, since the resort of the said persons to the said town, there have been committed and done divers thefts and felonies, as in felonious breaking of walk mills, and stealing cloths hither brought to be fulled, and also in stealing of yarn laid out to be whited, and in stealing and cutting down from the tenters great pieces of cloth, as well by night as by day, to the great impoverishment of the owners thereof, so that they are not able to keep their credit with their said creditors, by reason whereof the said Irishmen and others, which here before have used to bring and sell their wools, yarn, and other necessary wares for making of cloths to the inhabitants of the said town, and to credit them for the payment thereof, as before is expressed, do now withdraw themselves, with their said wares, and will not bring nor sell the same wares in the said town, nor to the inhabitants thereof, without ready payment in hand : And as the said persons which used to bring thither the said cottons do also withdraw themselves, which will be to the utter decay and desolation of the said town within a short time, if the said offenders, and sanctuary men, and such others shall be suffered to make their abode within the said town : And also, for as much as the said town of Manchester is not walled, whereby the said sanctuary-men may be safely kept in the night season ; but as they continually escape out of the same town by night, and commit sundry great robberies and felonies upon the king's loving and obedient subjects repairing to the same town, and after their felonies and robberies so committed can, without any let of wall or fortress, enter in every part and quarter of the same town : And also, for as much as there is neither mayor, sherriff, bailiff, nor other head officer or officers within the same town, (other than a steward, being an officer immediately under the chief lord of the same town,) by reason of whom the said sanctuary-men might be more in dread, or better punished after their said robberies, or evil doings, nor yet any prison-house or goal safely to keep them in after their said offences and evil doings : Wherefore it is ordained that the former act of Parliament be repealed as far as it relates to Manchester, and that the privilege of sanctuary be wholly removed from the said town to the city of West Chester, which, it is observed, is well inhabited, having no such trade of merchan-

dize, and hath a strong goal for the punishment of malefactors, and hath a mayor, bailiffs, and other head officers."

Dissolution of the College of Manchester.

In the first year of the reign of Edward the Sixth an act of Parliament was passed dissolving the college; and Warden Collyer, retiring into Staffordshire, was deprived of his sacred office.*

Upon the dissolution of the college, A. D. 1547, the college-house, hitherto the residence of the collegiate body, was, together with some of the lands, taken into the king's possession, and demised to the Earl of Derby, who provided three or four ministers to supply the service of the church while it remained in this state.†

Mr Ainscough says, "the college was turned into a vicarage, and that William Penketh was vicar."—*Anc. MS. p. J. B.*

Hollingworth remarks, that "Pendleton, who, in King Henry the Eighth's days, was a papist, recanted in Manchester, and was one of the preachers then maintained out of the revenues of the dissolved college, who became an earnest asserter and preacher of the Gospel."

During the reign of Edward the Sixth the reformed church was obtaining some degree of comparative tranquillity, and the commerce of Manchester began to be greatly extended.‡ In Lancashire, however, there was still a greater mass of the people who were hostile to the protestant tenets than was to be found in any other part of the kingdom. Their reconciliation to the new faith was chiefly due to the extraordinary exertions of the celebrated John Bradford, a native of Manchester. As the history of this excellent man is therefore connected with the annals of the town, a short sketch of it may be given.

John Bradford, who had been born and educated at the free grammar school of

* In this year Sir Alexander Radcliff, Knight, was high sheriff for Lancashire.

† Among the lands which came into the possession of the Earl were three burgages in the Milngate, and Fennel Street, being chauntry lands.—See page 60 of this work.

‡ A document concerning the trade of Manchester occurs in an act passed fifth and sixth of Edward Sixth, 1552, entitled, for the true making of woollen-cloth, in which it is ordered, "that all the cottons called *Manchester*, *Lancashire*, and *Cheshire* cottons, full wrought to the sale, shall be in length twenty-two yards, and contain in breadth three quarters of a yard in the water, and that all *Manchester rugs*, otherwise named *Manchester frizes*, fully wrought for sale, shall contain in length thirty-six yards, and in breadth three quarters of a yard coming out of the water, and shall not be stretched on the tenter or otherwise above a nail of a yard in breadth, and being so fully wrought and well-dried, shall weigh every piece forty-eight pound at the least."

Manchester, was well-versed in the Latin tongue, and had arrived to considerable perfection in writing and arithmetic. These attainments had recommended him to the service of Sir John Harrington, then in great esteem both with Henry the Eighth and his son Edward. Under this nobleman he was treasurer and paymaster of the English forces, and of the builders of the military works or fortifications at Bolygne in France. He continued in this office several years; his dexterity in writing, his accuracy in auditing accounts, and his attention to business, obtaining for him both reputation and emolument. He discovered, however, at length, that in his accounts he had overcharged some article, whereby the king was a considerable loser, and became uneasy, especially after he had heard a sermon by Latimer on *Restitution*, until he had made full satisfaction, and quieted his conscience.*

This circumstance urged Mr Bradford to the adoption of an entire change of life, and to the relinquishment of secular for religious pursuits; for though, upon quitting his employment in the army, he studied the common law for some time in the Inner Temple, yet his whole attention seems to have been devoted to theological researches. These he pursued in Cambridge, where his learning and acquirements were so highly esteemed, that, by the recommendation of Ridley, the Bishop of Gloucester, he was chosen a fellow of Pembroke Hall. With these attainments he was modest and diffident; and when urged to exercise his talents publicly in preaching, and to assist in the great work of the reformation, he would still plead his inability and unfitness. To this Martin Bucer would reply, "If thou hast not fine manchet bread, yet give the poore people barley bread, or whatsoever the Lord hath committed unto thee."

When Ridley, in 1550, was translated to the see of London, he sent for Mr

* See Bishop Latimer's *Sermon*, printed by John Day, London, 1584, 4to, p. 111. "I have now preached three lentes. The first time I preached *Restitution*, 'Restitution!' quoth some; 'What should he preach of restitution? let him preach of *contribution*,' quoth they, 'and let restitution alone; we can never make restitution.' Then say I, 'if thou wilt not make restitution, thou shalt goe to the devil for it. Now, choose thee either restitution or else endlesse damnation. But now there be two manners of restitution; secret restitution and open restitution; whether of both it be, so that restitution be made, it is all good enough. At my first preaching of restitution, one man took remorse of conscience, and acknowledged himself to me that he had deceived the king; and willing he was to make restitution, and so the first lent came to my hands twenty pounds to be restored to the king's use. I was promised twenty pounds more the same lent, but it could not be made, so that it came not. Well, the next lent, came three hundred and twenty pounds more; I received it myself, and paid it the king's council, so I was asked what he was that made this restitution? But should I have named him? Naye, they should as soon have this weasand of mine! Well, now, this lent, came one hundred four score pounds ten shillings, which I have payed and delivered this present day to the king's council; and so this man hath made a godly restitution."

Bradford, and ordained him deacon, licensing him to preach, and obtaining from the privy council a grant that he might be admitted one of his chaplains. The bishop spoke of him as "a man by whom God hath, and doth work, wonders in setting forth of his worde;" and made him a prebendary of St Paul's church.

Hollingworth speaks of Bradford as "an eloquent preacher, fervent in prayer, an able disputant, a wise comforter of afflicted souls. Preaching, praying, writing, meditating, was his whole life. He was more unwilling to spend time than money. He ate usually but one meale a day, and that he often mixed with weeping. Yet he sometimes was merry in the Lord. Parsons the Jesuit can object nothing against him, but that he was a minister made of a serving-man and a puritan in those days. The first of which is an unjust accusation, as appears by his great learning and orderly entrance by ordination into the ministry. The latter, I think, is grounded upon this opinion, that the Scriptures know no difference between Bishops and Presbyters, which then was not only the current opinion of the Protestants, but of Dr Harpefield, archdeacon, who asserted the same thing in his conference with Mr Bradford.

"In king Edward the Sixth's days, Mr Bradford came down into the country and preached the word of God (as Dr Pendleton then also did) in Manchester, and also at Eccles, Prestwich, Middleton, Radcliffe, Ashton-under-Lyne, Stockport, Mottrame, Wilmsley, Boulton, Bury, Wigan, Liverpoole, and the city of West Chester, and God gave good success to the ministry of the Worde, and hath both raised up to himself and preserved a faithful people in Lancashire, especially in and about Manchester and Boulton. It is reported and believed that John Bradford, preaching in Manchester, he told the people, as it were by a propheticall spirit, that because they did not readily embrace the words of God, the mass should be said again in that church, and the play of Robin Hood acted there."

In the year 1553 Edward the Sixth died, and Mary ascended the throne. Bradford's prediction, as Hollingworth has remarked, was soon confirmed. Mass was sung within the walls of the collegiate church, and its doors were again thrown open to receive the imposing pageantry of Robin Hood, Maid Marian, and Friar Tuck. Its aisles were again crowded with archers in green, and a motly assemblage of morris-dancers, fools and their hobby-horses, while its solemn roofs were condemned once more to re-echo the profane sounds of taborers and minstrels.

Re-establishment of the College of Manchester.

Soon after the accession of Queen Mary, George Collyer was recalled from his retirement in Staffordshire to again resume the wardenship of Manchester.

The queen then "refounded the college, appointed one master or keeper, eight fellows chaplains, four clarkes, six choristers, and did also confirm and re-establish the statutes of the first foundation."—Hollingworth's *Mancuniensis*.

But although, on the re-establishment of the college, the number of fellows were the same, two only were nominated in the foundation of Philip and Mary, viz. Lawrence Vaux, (afterwards warden,) and John Coppage.

Upon the reinstatement of Warden Collyer, the queen restored to the college six messuages which she had in her hands in Manchester, Newton and Kirkman's hulme, with the tithes of the parish."—*Ancient MS. penes the Rev. J. Brookes*.) The Earl of Derby, however, still retained possession of the collegiate house, and of some of the lands.

A. D. 1554, Thomas West, Lord Delaware, died, who at his death was seized of the manor and advowson of the church at Manchester. *

On the circumstance of the advowson remaining with the barony, Mr Whittaker has the following remarks. "When the church of Manchester was erected, the temporalities of it would naturally claim the protection and guardianship of the baron. And, to engage the protection, and insure the guardianship more effectually, the latter was indulged with the liberty of recommending a clerk to the bishop. This power of recommendation soon settled into a right of nomination. And it retains to the present moment the reason of the original indulgence in the continuing name of advowson, patronage, or guardianship. Coeval with the commencement of the church, and granted to the baron for the better security of it, the right became annexed to the manor with the power of patronage. And, under all the revolutions of government, and all the extinctions of families, it remained the appendant right of the barony even to the reign of Queen Mary."—Whittaker's *History of Manchester*, 4to, Vol. II. p. 435.

It will be now necessary to return to Dr Pendleton, originally a papist, who, in the reign of Edward, having recanted in Manchester, and having become one of the preachers earnest for the reformed doctrine, was maintained out of the revenues of the dissolved college. Hollingworth gives the following account of Dr Pendleton's secession from the reformed church, and his relapse into popery. "In Queen Mary's days, he meeting with Mr Saunders in the country about Coventry, (its like where Saunders lived, and Dr Pendleton went that way to London,) and discoursing of

* Jacob's Peerage.

the persecution then arising, Saunders complaining that though his spirit was ready to suffer, his flesh was weak and loath to taste of that bitter cuppe, Pendleton being a fat man, over self-confidently said, 'I will see the utmost drop of mine molten away, and the last gibbet of this flesh consumed to ashes, before I will forsake God and his truth.' But the issue proved otherwise when they came to London. Saunders boldly preached Christ, opposed antichrist, and sealed his doctrine with his blood at Coventry. 'Pendleton,' saith Mr Fox, 'changed his tippet, preached popery; and being learned, was a great disputer for it alone, and was sent, or of his own accord came down, to Manchester and other places to recant his recantation, and to preach up popery.'"

Hollingworth adds, that it was in the year 1555, when John Bradford, in his native town, was actively denouncing the errors of popery, that Dr Pendleton came into Manchester, being attended in this mission by Warden Collyer. Their object was to enter into a disputation with this great reformer concerning the true faith. The result of the conference is not stated. Bradford was in the same year imprisoned on a charge of riot, when Bourne, a canon of St Paul's, preached in justification of Bonner, though he was the very person that preserved the preacher from the outrage of the people, and appeased the tumult. As Mr Bradford would not admit of any tenets or practices, except those which were founded on Scripture, and not on human tradition, he was, in the first place, deemed a heretic, and excommunicated. Much correspondence during his imprisonment took place between him and his Christian friends in Lancashire. "There is a letter," says Mr Hollingworth, "from the Counter in the Poultry to Mr Shawcrosse and his wife, dwelling in Lancashire, exhorting to constancy and perseverance in keeping themselves undefiled in God's service, in fighting the good fight.—He desires to be recommended to Sir William Chorleton, who, saith he, I trust hath kept himself free from idolatry. God grant he may so continue: and to Thomas Ridlestone, though, I fear, saith he, he hath defiled himself in this false service. He mentions also a booke which James Bradshawe had of him, probably the same good man that went to George Marsh, another of our Lancashire martyres. There is alsoe, in the MS. of Immanuel College, a letter from Elizabeth Longshee to Mr Bradford, mentioning his preaching in Lancashire, and blessing God for it, and the benefit and comfort she received by it; and in the postscript she desires him to have remembrance in his prayer of a maid, in the parish of Prestwich, whose name is Alice Seddon, who doth not cease to pray for him night nor day."

The following is the farewell letter which Bradford wrote to his mother in Manchester before his death:—

“ God’s mercy and peace in Christ be more and more perceived of us. Amen.

“ My most dear mother, in the bowels of Christ I heartily pray and beseech you to be thankful for me unto God, who now taketh me unto himself. I die, not as a criminal, but as a witness of Christ, for the truth of whose Gospel I have hitherto confessed, I thank God, both by preaching and imprisonment, and now I am willing to confirm the same by fire. I acknowledge that God might justly have taken me hence for my sins, which are many, great, and grievous ; but the Lord, for his mercy in Christ, I hope, hath pardoned them all : But now, dear mother, he taketh me hence by this death as a confessor and witness, that the religion taught by Christ Jesus, the prophets, and the apostles, is God’s truth. The prelates in me do persecute Christ, whom they hate, and his truth, which they will not abide, because their works are evil. They do not care for the light, lest men thereby should discover their darkness. Therefore, my dear mother, give thanks to God for me, that he hath made the fruit of your womb to be a witness of his glory, and attend to the truth which I have truly taught out of the pulpit of Manchester. Use often continual prayer to God the Father through Jesus Christ. Harken to the Scriptures, and serve God according to them, and not according to the custom. Beware of the Romish religion in England ; defile not yourself with it ; carry the cross of Christ, as he shall lay it upon your back ; forgive them that kill me ; pray for them, for they know not what they do ; commit my cause to God our Father ; be mindful of both your daughters, and help them as well as you can.

“ I send all my writings to you by my brother Roger. Do with them as you will, because I cannot, as I would. He can tell you more of my mind. I have nothing to give you, or to leave behind me for you, only I pray to God, my Father, for Christ’s sake, to bless you, and keep you from evil. May he make you patient and thankful, that he will take the fruit of your womb to witness the truth, wherein I confess to the whole world I die and depart this life in hope of a much better, which I look for at the hands of God my Father, through the merits of his dear Son, Jesus Christ.

“ Thus, my dear mother, I take my last farewell of you in this life, beseeching the Almighty and Eternal Father, by Christ, to grant us to meet in the life to come, where we shall give him continual thanks and praise for ever and ever. Amen.

“ Your son, in the Lord,

JOHN BRADFORD.”

“ June 24, 1555.

John Bradford soon afterwards received a crown of martyrdom. It was at first intended that he should suffer in Manchester, his native town. But this design was abandoned. A young prentice boy of the name of John Leaf was condemned to the flames along with him. The great Lancashire martyr was accompanied to the place of execution by his brother-in-law Roger Bexwicke of Manchester, who was unfeelingly withheld by blows dealt him by Woodruffe, the sheriff of London, from holding with his kinsman a free communion. At the hour of death Bradford exhorted the people to repentance, which so enraged the brutal officer that the hands of the victim were ordered to be tied. The martyr then kissed the stake; and the last words he was heard to utter were "Strait is the way and narrow is the gate that leads to salvation, and few there be that find it."—Mr Hollingworth has paid an excellent tribute to his memory. "As Cramner was for his place the most renowned and eminent of the martyrs, so Dr Ridley was accounted the most learned, and Mr Bradford the most pious."

It is very creditable to George Collyer, the warden, that, though a strict catho-

Mr Hollingworth thus recounts Mr Bradford's labours as an author: "He wrote several tracts and letters besides those mentioned by Mr Fox. Some are printed, some are not, (viz.) His meditations and prayers;—A Meditation and Instruction of y^e Providence of God to me, J. B. —A Meditation of y^e presence of God;—A Meditation of y^e Flesh and Spirit, or a Declaration how those words Flesh and Spirit are to be understood in Scripture;—A Sermon of Repentance;—A Sermon of y^e Lord's Supper, in w^{ch} are nine reasons against transubstantiation. In y^e end it is more practicall, and hath a word of satisfaction to a poore sinner y^e thinks himself unworthy;—A Treatise on Election and Free Will, of w^{ch} nature there is another letter alsoe to certain men not wrightly perswaded in the doctrine of God's election and predestination;—A Meditation of Death out of Ludovicus Vives;—A Meditation for y^e true Exercise of Mortification;—A Meditation upon y^e passion of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and most earnest prayer upon the said passion;—A Meditation upon y^e Ten Commandments and y^e Lord's Supper while he was in Prison;—A Meditation upon the Sacrament;—Sundry other Prayers;—A Letter of his own hand, beginning Jesus Immanuel, to my dearest sister in y^e Lord (Joyces Hales,) John Bradford wisheth all encrease of Godliness in Christ. The Sume of it is to explaine that place in Rom. 8th chap. 19, 20, 21, verses, That it is to be understood of y^e renovation of y^e world, and of y^e better condition of all Creatures. This discourse he stileth Cigne Cantia.—It was not long before his Suffering;—A letter to a Christian friend about Christ's Sufferings;—A letter to Mr Philpot about Unity;—A letter to Mr Coker in Malden, in Essex, intreating him to harbour one John Searchfield, a book-binder, who, in Queen Marye's day, did wander to keep a good conscience;—A letter to Dr Ridley, subscribed by himself, Mr Philpot, and others, in w^{ch} is this expression: "All here (God therefore be praised) prepares to pledge their Captaine Christ even when he will and how he will."—A letter written from y^e Counter in y^e Poultry to Mr Shawerosee and his wife, dwelling in Lancashire, and to Thomas Riddlestone.

lic, he does not appear to have aided persecution. An old writer has paid the following honourable tribute to his memory : He continued in his wardenship to the period of his death, whose exceeding great bounty is yet fresh, by the writing of many that then knew him, both in his first and second wardenship. This Sir George Collyer was a resolved papist, and could not be brought to comply with the present world, though he was held to be the most bountiful and generous warden that had been in this church.—*Anc. MS. p. J. B.*

He was the last warden upon the original foundation, and is buried in the chapel of THE VIRGIN MARY, at the east of the church.

CHAPTER IX.

ANNALS OF THE WARDENSHIP OF LAWRENCE VAUX, A. D. 1557 TO 1560.

FROM HOLLINGWORTH'S MS. AND MR GRESWELL'S COLLECTIONS, WITH ADDITIONS.

LAWRENCE VAUX, B. D. chaplain to his friend and patron the Bishop of Gloucester, and one of the fellows who had been nominated in the new charter of foundation of the college of Manchester, was, upon the death of George Collyer, made warden. He was born at Blackrod in Lancashire ; was a member first of Queen's College, Oxford, afterwards of Corpus Christi ; and about A. D. 1540 had been ordained. He was a strenuous catholic, and very popular in Manchester, and the county in general.* Being admitted a fellow of the college of Manchester, he was next, according to the said foundation, " canonically instituted, and inducted *ad curam et regimen animarum*, to the cure and government of souls, in the office of being master and keeper of St Mary's Church in Manchester." (Hollingworth's *Mancuniensis*.)

Hollingworth remarks, on the history of the wardenships which occurred during the reign of Mary, that " God did wonderfully hide his people in Lancashire."

John Bird, the Bishop of Chester, had been deprived of his see on account of his having married, and his successor, George Cotes, was not preferred to the bishopric until the third of Queen Mary ; and after having burned George Marsh of the parish of Dean, near Bolton, sate but a short time. " Cuthbert Scott, D. D. who had been imprisoned in the Fleet, and had escaped to Louvaine, was then

* Wood, Vol. I. p. 166.

returned, and made bishop in his roome ; and he was so busie in the visitation of the famous university of Cambridge, which drove sundry protestants out of the university, (twenty-foure out of one college,) and in taking up Martin Bucer's and Paulus Phagius' bones, that he did little in his own diocese. Towards the latter end of Queen Mary's reign he held a visitation, and caused several persons in and about Manchester to be imprisoned in the college. Tradition says the names of these persons were Ridlestone, Wharmby, &c."

About the close of the reign of Queen Mary, A. D. 1557, when religious persecution was somewhat abating, attention was paid to the commercial interests of the town of Manchester. An act was passed in the year 1557, the object of which was to amend a former one of the reign of Edward the Sixth, where the Manchester manufactures were recited.—*See page 69 of this work.*

In 1558, Queen Mary died, and Elizabeth succeeded to the throne. The protestants whom the Bishop of Chester had imprisoned in the college of Manchester were immediately released. The bishop retired to Louvaine, where he died.

Upon the accession of Elizabeth, Lawrence Vaux refused to take the oaths, and was deprived of his wardenship. It is probable that he retired, in the first instance, to the place of his nativity, Blackrod. To the family of Standish, in that neighbourhood, staunch catholics, he is said to have bequeathed his library, and the communion plate of the collegiate church, which he had carried off with him. He had no doubt considered these as rescued from the profanation of his heretical successors ; but this act will not bear to be tried by those plain rules of morality which are unconnected with schismatic tenets.^a

Lawrence Vaux is said by Hollingworth " to have been laborious, learned, and, in his way, devout and conscientious. He was generally respected in Manchester, though more particularly, as might be expected, by the catholics. His example and influence appear to have opposed a powerful obstacle to the reception of the reformed religion in the county of Lancaster."^b

^a The author of " *An account of the Wardens, &c.* about 1740, affirms, that he had seen some part of this plate in the possession of that family, and wished, as a generous act, the restoration of it to the church. This," he says, " consisted of a curious gilt paten, inlaid with pearl, for the consecration of the host, with a very finely wrought pix of plate, in which the paten was laid up, and corresponding with it."

^b It is melancholy to dwell upon the subsequent history of this excellent man, whose exemplary life was calculated to adorn any sect of religion whatever to which his conscience had inclined. Shortly after his deprivation, he went over to Ireland, where he had the misfortune to be robbed of all his substance, and narrowly escaped with life. Several of his fellow-travellers were murdered.—*Dodd's Church History*, Vol. II, p. 111. From thence he passed over to Flanders, and settled

CHAPTER X.

ANNALS OF THE WARDENSHIP OF WILLIAM BIRCH, A. D. 1558 AND 1599.

Collected from different sources.

“ IN the second year of Queen Elizabeth, William Birch, M. A. younger brother to Birch of Birch-Hall in this county, ‘ who was ordained by Bishop Ridley, and whose licence to preach was signed by King Edward the Sixth’s own hand, had a presentation to the wardenship, directed to the dean and chapter of York cathedral, and the keeper of the spiritualities there, (the archbishopric of York and the see of Chester being both vacant,) that he should be warden and keeper of the college in the roome of Lawrence Vaux.”—Hollingworth’s *Mancuniensis*.

In the first of Elizabeth, the law enacted in the twenty-fifth of Henry the Eighth was revived, by which many of the deaconal powers of the warden of Manchester became lost. The effect of this statute was before explained, (page 65.) At the time of the reformation the archideaconal functions became absorbed in the episcopal authority. This measure was confirmed by Elizabeth. The monthly and quarterly chapters of the deanery were then laid aside. “ Yet,” as Mr Whittaker has remarked, “ the power of the dean in many dioceses still remained considerable ; and at the present day the Dean of Manchester holds his court of visitation twice a-year, and twice a-year receives the presentments of the church-wardens in it. And, since the archideaconal authority has been lost in the episcopal, the dean has become the

in the University of Louvaine, the common refuge of English catholics at this period. In this seminary he became professor, and is said, during his residence there, to have become a monk. Being desirous at length of returning to his native country as a missionary, he was apprehended and thrown into prison, and died at the Gatehouse at Westminster in great distress, and destitute of the common necessities of life.

His works are :—*A Catechism, or Christian Doctrine necessary for Children and Ignorant People*. Printed at Louvaine, 1567, and at Antwerp, 1574, 1583, 1199, 8vo, 12mo. Of this book, Hollingworth says that it was then considered a bold attempt. The French king, and some popish doctors, approved of it ; others disliked it —II. *The Use and meaning of the Holy Ceremonies of the Church*,—III. *Godly Contemplations for the Unlearned*.—IV. *Certain brief notes of divers Godly matters*.—V. *De Ceremoniis Ecclesie*.

c “ This Sir William Birch was the second son of George Birch of Birch, by Merrium, the daughter of Richard Beck of Manchester, merchant, who founded Jesus Chapel, and contributed half the wood in the choir.”—*Ancient MS. p. J. B.*

sole ordinary of the diocese below the bishop, the only faint check on the irregularities of the clergy, and the only support to the interest of expiring discipline.”—“These chapters formerly took cognizance of most of the common concerns in the deanery, except causes of depravation, simony, matrimony, or the probate of wills. But even some of these were locally referred to the judicature of the dean; as the probate of testaments, which bequeath not to the value of forty pounds, is to the present day retained by the Dean of Manchester.”—Whittaker’s *History of Manchester*, Vol. II. p. 385 to 387.

It may be interesting to notice some miscellaneous circumstances of local interest, which occurred in the town about this period.

“Soon after the reformation, the chapel on the old bridge, mentioned by *Leland*, was converted into a prison, acquiring the name of “the dungeon.”^d It was situated on the north side of the bridge, upon the middle pier; and consisted of two apartments, one over the other. In this prison accused felons, deserters, and other military culprits were confined. Those who were so unfortunate as to be lodged in the *lower* dungeon were often in a most perilous situation, from the rise of the river by floods, which filled the miserable habitation with water.”—Aston’s *Manchester Guide*.

“There is also reason to suppose that about this time Hanging-ditch was at least partially drained, and that houses then began to arise out of a situation upon land, which had been for some hundred years the bed of a river. But the drain was only partial, for the cart road through Hanging-ditch was through a wash-way, so narrow that only one cart could pass at once; the rest of the space between the opposite houses being a raised causeway, guarded by a battlement to prevent foot-passengers from falling into the water, which ran along the cart road.”^e—*Ibid*.

But to return to the wardenship of Manchester.—Some doubt is entertained whether William Birch, though actually appointed warden by Queen Elizabeth, was ever installed. It is supposed that he showed a reluctance to comply with some measures proposed by the court, which he deemed injurious to the interests of the collegiate church, and was for his upright and honourable conduct rejected.^f

^d It was used for this purpose until the building was taken down, and the bridge made wider in the year 1778.

^e One of the arches of the bridge by which the ditch was crossed was, about twenty years ago, to be seen from a back window which overlooked the yard below the remains of the battlements.

^f He died at his parsonage-house at Stanhope, in the bishopric of Durham, 1572.

CHAPTER XI.

ANNALS OF THE WARDENSHIP OF THOMAS HERLE, A. D. 1549 TO 1578.

From HOLLINGWORTH'S MS. and Mr GRESWELL'S collections, with considerable Additions.

ON the retirement of William Birch, Thomas Herle, a native of Cornwall, who had been made prebendary of Worcester, and vicar of Bromsgrove in that diocese, also chaplain to Queen Elizabeth, was nominated to the wardenship of Manchester.^a

Hollingworth describes Thomas Herle as "a selfish man, who (indeed if he was a protestant, having alwayes changed with the princes in these changeable times,) was not so wise or zealous in his generation as Vaux was in his."

In the fourth of Elizabeth, Isabel Beck, widow and sole heir of Richard Bexwick, in consideration of the sum of twenty nobles, granted to Francis Pendleton, and Cecily his wife, daughter of the said Isabel, the chauntry named Jesus Chapel, which had been founded in the year 1506 by her husband, Richard Beck, who also built the superb stalls and wood work on the north of the choir of the collegiate church.

The same Isabel Beck was, like her husband, a liberal donor to the town of Manchester. She left certain houses in St Marysgate to trustees, for the perpetual upholding of the conduit of Manchester.^b A conduit formerly stood at the west end of the exchange, (taken down in 1792,) which supplied that part of the town with good water. It was conveyed by pipes from the spring at the top of King Street.^c Previous also to the building of Norfolk Street, when known by the

^a His brother, Charles Hall, was rector of Winwick, and upon the death of Dr Twisse was by Parliament appointed moderator of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster. Fuller, making mention of him, (*Worthies of England*, p. 17,) says "I know the man full well to whom Mr Charles Herle, (president of the Assembly,) said somewhat insultuously, 'I'll tell you news, last night I buried a bishop (dashing more at his profession than his person,) in Westminster Abbey.' To whom the other returned with the like latitude to both, 'Sure you buried him in hope of resurrection.'"

^b "If the town," says Mr Aston in his *Manchester Guide*, "has not received, for the last thirty years, the benefit from the legacy which the donor intended, perhaps, in justice, the borough-reeve and constables ought to have the rents arising from the land to apply to some other public purpose."

^c These pipes ceased to flow when the sinking of wells in the neighbourhood had drained it. This was about 1775.

name of *Marriott's Field*, a kind of reservoir was kept up in the midst of it, (filled by pipes from the same spring which supplied the conduit,) whence people fetched water, as well as from the conduit in the market-place.—Aston's *Manchester Guide*.

During the tranquil times which ushered in the reign of Elizabeth, the commerce of Manchester so thrived as to excite far more of the attention of government than the state of its religious feuds; for in the eighth of Elizabeth an act was passed respecting the fees due to the queen's aulneger,—the officer appointed to examine and set the seal to manufactured cloth for the county of Lancaster.*

For some little time after Thomas Herle became warden, there is no remarkable occurrence related of the Church of Manchester; for which reason, it may be proper to notice certain general laws which had been framed with the view of suppressing popery. These laws have been stated after the following manner by Hume:—"An ecclesiastical trial court of forty-four commissioners was appointed by Queen Elizabeth. The jurisdiction of this court extended over the whole kingdom. The commissioners were empowered to visit and reform all errors, heresies, schisms, and to punish all breach of uniformity in the exercise of public worship. They were directed to make inquiry, not only by the legal method of juries and witnesses, but by all other means and ways which they could devise; that is, by the rack, by torture, by inquisition, by imprisonment. When they found reason to suspect any person, they might administer to him an oath, called *ex officio*, by which he was bound to answer all questions, and might thereby be obliged to accuse himself or his most intimate friend. The fines which they levied were discretionary, and often occasioned the total ruin of the offender. The imprisonment to which they condemned any delinquent was limited to no rule but their own pleasure. They assumed a power of imposing on the clergy what new articles of subscription, and consequently of faith, they thought proper. The ecclesiastical commissioners were exempted from every legal jurisdiction, and were liable to no control; and the more to enlarge their authority, they were empowered

* In the preamble to this act it is recited, "That it has been a practice with divers clothiers inhabiting the said county, to send clandestinely out of it cottons, frizes, and rugs, without being previously sealed by the queen's aulneger, and sometimes counterfeiting and setting to their clothes seals of their own." For the prevention of this, the towns of *Manchester, Rochdale, Bolton, Blackburne, and Bury*, are appointed, wherein the aulneger is to have his deputies. His fees are regulated by the act, and the requisite length, breadth, and weight of the cottons, rugs, and frizes are determined.

to punish according to their own discretion all crimes which are liable to church censure."

The ecclesiastical commissioners appointed for the north of England consisted of the Earl of Shrewsbury, the Earl of Derby, the Earl of Northumberland, the Archbishop of York, and the Bishop of Chester. It was their province to inquire into the state of the churches under their control, to abolish, by the force of the laws which had been enacted, all foreign interference in the government of the Church of England, and to see that the book of common prayer was regularly introduced into the ecclesiastical services.

"A. D. 1564. Injunctions and orders concerning the collegiate church of Manchester were issued to the warden and fellows by the Archbishop of Canterbury concerning their residence, and diligent and constant preaching every Sunday in the church of Manchester, or one of the chapels in Stretford, Chorlton, Didsbury, Gorton, Denton, Newton, and Blakeley;"—"Tho'," as another MS. observes, "little was left to keep them on."—*Ancient MS. pen. J. B.*

In 1565 was "a sore sickness" of the inhabitants of Manchester and the neighbourhoods.

About this period the Duke of Alba was sent by Philip of Spain with an army to the Netherlands, in order to re-establish in that country the Popish religion. The severities and persecutions which he exercised are well known: and when his tyranny induced many Flemings to seek an asylum in this country, some of them settled in Manchester; and, as an encouragement for their establishing manufactures of woollen and linen, and introducing the arts of dyeing and silk throwstering, they were permitted by the warden and fellows to cut firing from the extensive woods belonging to the college, on condition of paying for this privilege fourpence annually. It was perhaps considered that the timber necessary for the construction or the repair of their looms was equivalent to the annual rent of fourpence.—*Aston's Manchester Guide.*

Mr Herle, who was a great favourite at court, had now a near approach to advancement. It was in contemplation to give him the bishoprick of Bangor. Strype mentions, that Archbishop Parker thought Mr Herle "a grave priestly man, and would well furnish *commendams* of his other livings, which he then had, though he should give over Manchester, where he would have little rest." Why Herle's promotion was on this occasion stopped, we are not informed; but in the year 1567 he had a prebendal stall in the cathedral of Chester.—*Willis, Vol. I.*

"Anno 1572. By inquisition upon oath it was found that the Earl of Derby

had purchased of the Prince Over Alport, and three burgages in the Milgate, and Fennel Street, being chauntry lands. And indeed several chauntries belonged to the parish church of Manchester which had their several endowments, and wherein Sir William Trafford was the last incumbent; another," (the ancient chauntry east of the choir, founded by the De la Warre family, and dedicated to OUR LADY THE VIRGIN MARY,) "wherein Sir James Barlow was last incumbent, besides others."¹

About this time we must date the attention which was excited in the minds of the ruling powers to the increase of puritanical principles in Manchester and its vicinity. The puritans, as it is well known, considered themselves in total opposition to the church of Rome. They harboured a great antipathy to the episcopal order, and to the whole liturgy, but only avowed their objections to the surplice, the confirmation of children, the sign of the cross in baptism, the ring in marriage, kneeling at the sacrament, and bowing at the name of Jesus. With regard to the town of Manchester, the only measure at first thought necessary to counteract the growth of puritanism was the very sensible one, of commanding that the exertions of the episcopal establishment in preaching to their own flock should be doubled. Hollingworth states, that, in the year 1573, "Edmund, archbishop of York, and others, the queene's majesty's commissioners for causes ecclesiastical within the province of York, repeated the injunctions about the residence of warden and fellows, their diligent and constant preaching every Sunday in the church of Manchester, or in one of the chapels of Stretford, Chorleton, Didsbury, Gorton, Denton, Newton, and Blakely." (Another MS. says other two churches were mentioned, namely, Birch and Salford, in all nine.)

The first register for the parish of Manchester was begun during the time of Thomas Herle. The first entry is the burial of Robert Fisher, August 1, 1573. The first baptism was Ellen, daughter of William Darby, August 3. And the first marriage was between Nicholas Cleaton and Ellen Pendleton, on August 19, 1573.—*Manchester Guide*.

In the fifteenth year of Elizabeth the rumour of a Spanish invasion caused the prompt resistance of all good protestants. In the muster of soldiers which took place for the county of Lancaster, it appears that the men furnished with arms amounted to 2375; the able men who were unarmed were 2495; the labourers, or *pyons*, who were unarmed were 600; and the sum total was 5459 able

¹ This chapel, which in the Protestant period changed its name, being called the Chapel of THE HOLY TRINITY, is by Hollingworth named Chetham's Chauntry, from the family into whose possession it subsequently came.

bodied men. "The tounie of Manchester were contente, of good will, to furnish and have in readynes,

" Corseletts	-	-	vi.
Pyks	-	-	vi.
Curriers	-	-	ii.
Morrians	-	-	ii.

In the year 1574, a serious dispute occurred between the Collegiate Church and the town, arising probably from some regulation adopted by the ecclesiastical commissioners. This dispute, the origin of which is not related, was no doubt connected with the lurking attachment evinced by a large proportion of the people to the tenets of the Roman Catholic religion. In its consequences it was beginning to be serious. It is stated that the clergy of the Collegiate Church were frequently beaten by the populace. In mid-lent one of the preachers, a bachelor of divinity, on his way to perform divine service, was assailed by one William Smith of Manchester, who drew out a dagger, and inflicted on him no less than three separate wounds. Certain lands called Obyt lands were also seized by Thomas Stawnton, an attorney of the duchy; and the malcontents took away the documentary evidence of the church, including the letters-patent. Not content with these depredations, the same offenders carried off from the collegiate institution ornaments and plate belonging to the queen of the value of five hundred marks.^m The letter of Herle on the subject, as given in Strype's Life and Acts of Archbishop Parker, is curious.

**HERLE, WARDEN OF MANCHESTER, TO THE LORD TREASURER, CONCERNING
SOME INJURIES OFFERED SOME OF THE COLLEGE THERE BY PAPISTS.**

^m During the wardenship of Thomas Herle the following miscellaneous events are recorded by Hollingworth:—

"A. D. 1574. The common of Collyhurst was inclosed, and alsoe the same was put down in the nyght. The same summer, William West, Baron Gresley, Lord de la Warre and Gateloup, chiefe Lord of Manchester, came to Manchester, and did let Collyhurst to all such as would take the same for iiij. per acre, by the yeare, and 20s. fine beforehand."

"Anno 1577, Crosford, or Crosfery Bridge, was begun to be taken care of, that it might be reedified and built of stone; the inhabitants of Manchester having petitioned the queen's most honourable council. And thereupon Sir Ralph Sadler, chancellour of the dutchy of Lancaster, Mr Justice Meade, Mr Gilbert Gerard, attorney-general, and Mr Bromeley, attorney of the dutchy of Lancaster, wrote to the justices of the peace in Lancashire to view and cause the same reedified; and they assessed the county in the sum of L. 200; and the inhabitants of the towne of Manchester did, of their own benevolence, bestow L. 40 over and above, so that the bridge was builded in that manner that now it is the year following."

Almighty God preserve your good Lordschyp in myche felycyte.

PLESYTH your honourable lordeschyp to understand, that wher of late my lordes grace of Yorke, and the commissyoners here at the Queen's Majestyes commandement, have stablyshyd and orderyd the college of Manchester, and placyd both honest and learnyd men ther. And the landes and revenuys they have so orderyd, as ys most nesysary for the hospitalyte and relyvyng the pour ther. Which doying of thers of lykelyhod hath displesyd some men: for on Mydlent Sunday last, as our prechyr (who ys a bachelor of divynyte) was rydyng to preche at one of the chappels of the paryshe, beyng distant from the parysche church iiii. mylys, one Wyllyem Smygth of the parysche of Manchester, met hym by the way, and takyng hys horse by the brydell, drew hys dagger, and bet and woundyd hym wyth iii. wondes; and iff hys horse had not brokyn owte of the hand of the sayd Smygth, of lykelyhode he had sclayne hym. Desyryng therefore your lordeschyp to help us, that quyetyly we may ther doo our funcsyon and offyce, or else if we shall be thys beaten, as before this tyme, and now our precher ys, we schal never be able to lyve with them, excepte they may be ponyshyd to the terrowre of wother.

They have also causyd one Thomas Staunton, atourney of the deuchy of Lancaster, to enter in to certayn landes of the collage, called *Obyte Landes*, and wold have hyt consolyd lands; and hyt ys contaynyd within our letters patentes of our foundation. And yf the landes be takyn from us, we be not able to meyntayne the cumpany. They have also takyn away al our evydences and letters patentes; and of ornamentes and plate as myche as ys worthe five hundred markes, wyche plate ys the Queenes Majesty's. And althoughe we have prove to whose handes hyt cam after the deprivation of my predissessour, yet ys hyt kepte from us. Wherefore we request your honour to help our pour collage, as before this tyme ye have holpyn us (Almighty God reward you for hyt.) Or else the collage had byn utterly dystroyde and spoyld. Wheras now hyt wold be able to mayntayne lernyd men to the help of that cuntrye. And this ye bynd us to be your daily oratours, and also of al those that helpe to the ayde therof. Thys levyng your honour to Almighty God,

By your lordschypps ever to command,
THOMAS HERLE, Warden of Manchester.

But we may now advert to the mode in which the revenues of the collegiate church were secretly managed during the wardenship of Herle.

"Thomas Herle," says Hollingworth, "would for ever have blemished the

name of Herle in these parts, notwithstanding his honourable descent, had not Charles Herle, rector of Winwicke, his kinsman, a learned, ingenious, and laborious minister and moderator, (after the death of the reverend Dr Twisse,) of the assembly of divines at Westminster, by ordinance of the parliament, recovered the credit thereof.

“ This Thomas Herle and his fellow chaplains, (viz.) Stephen Townshend, Nicholas Daniel, Richard Hall, and Edward Holt, possessed the college lands and revenues, and made long leases of the tythes, and some of the land, whereby the college was much prejudiced and impoverished.”

These nefarious acts were again affirmed to have been done with the collusion of some of Queen Elizabeth’s courtiers ; for the warden is said to have alienated a part of the lands, which were either given to or purchased by the Earl of Derby.

Nay, even the Queen herself is accused of having been privy to these nefarious acts, and to have been implicated in the fraudulent transactions. Mr Ainscough says of Herle, “ He sold all the church-land that would be purchased, and granted long leases of the tithes, and endeavoured to make away with all the revenues thereof. His way was, to grant what he intended to make over to one Killigrew, a countryman of his, who made it over to the queen, who reconveyed it to such parties as he desired.”—Killigrew was a gentleman of her Majesty’s privy chamber.

The leases made by Herle and the fellows are described as having been “ for twenty-one years after two or three lives then in being ; or else for ninety-nine years, in such ambiguous words as make it hard to know when the said ninety-nine years commence, or are to expire. Such was the lease of the tythes of Stretford, Trafford, and half Chorleton, made to Sir Edward Trafford of Trafford, wherein the said tythes are granted first for twenty-one years ; and then by a new habendum for twenty-one years more, and so from twenty-one years to twenty-one years to the term of ninety-nine years, which was found to be a lease for ninety-nine years after twenty-one.”—It is also described by the same writer, that several houses and tenements in Deansgate were thus alienated.—*Account of the Wardens of Manchester, published A. D. 1773.*

The Traffords from this time naturally became much interested in the affairs of the college. It was probably in reference to the collection of the tythes thus made over to Sir Edmund Trafford, that the right of appointing the parish clerk was recognized and confirmed to this family by Queen Elizabeth.

Oct. 28, 1576. Dean Nowel made a representation of the state of the church lands of Manchester to the Lord Treasurer, and to the Secretary Walsingham,

entreating that a full examination might take place into the administration of the revenue and property of the college; and that, in the meantime, Herle, the warden, might receive no rents, till the report of Leeson, appointed to conduct the investigation, was duly made. An inquiry was accordingly instituted, whereby the charges against the warden and fellows were fully proved.

It was, however, soon suggested that this warden and the fellows, being an ecclesiastical society newly restored since the death of king Edward the Sixth, came under the act of the first of Elizabeth, by which all such establishments were suppressed. The college was therefore deemed, in the judgment of divers, to be quite dissolved; and it was judged that the said Thomas Herle, and those who joined with him consequently, were not legally warden and fellows.

It is added, that "when Herle had by his sinister dealings impoverished the college, and made himself odious, he was justly forsaken of all, and persecuted even by those that had served their ends of him, being left to shift for himself even by his friends at court, who had now no further use of him. And the gentlemen and inhabitants of the town and parish petitioning for a new foundation, both that they might save something that was yet left of the old, and get rid of him that was ruining it, Queen *Elizabeth*, in the twentieth year of her reign, granted a new foundation, and therein fairly laid aside her old chaplain, who had a pension of L.20 a-year allowed him; little enough to subsist on, though more than deserved."—*Account of the Wardens of Manchester, published A. D. 1773.*

The fellows also of the college, implicated with Herle in the alienation of the church-lands, were dismissed.

CHAPTER XII.

ANNALS OF THE WARDENSHIP OF JOHN WOLTON, D. D.

A. D. 1578 to 1580.

From Mr GRESWELL's collections, with considerable additions.

QUEEN ELIZABETH, who has had a severe charge alleged against her memory, that she shared in the iniquitous profits arising from the clandestine alienation of the church-lands of Manchester, was at last bound to make some reparation to the religious establishment which she had injured. What her majesty, therefore,

did, was to place the college upon a new foundation. Hollingworth writes as follows :—

“ Anno 1578. Queen Elizabeth, understanding that the collegiate church had either an uncertain foundation, or none at all, did refound or re-establish it by the name of CHRIST’S COLLEGE IN MANCHESTER.” It was to consist “ of one warden, a presbyter, and at the least batchelour of divinity, and foure fellowes, godly, honest, learned men, at least batchelors in arts, able to teach the people. She ordained alsoe, that there should be two chaplaines, foure singing men, foure choristers, skilfull in musicke.” The warden was to have his appointment from the crown, and the others were to be elected on a vacancy by the warden and fellows. “ By which foundation Thomas Herle, having already done too much harme, was outed, onely he had a pension of L. 20 per annum. And John Wolton, bachelour of divinity, was made warden in his stead.” (Hollingworth’s *Mancuniensis*.)

JOHN WOLTON, D. D. was a native of Wigan, in the county of Lancaster. He was descended from respectable parents, of whom his mother was of the more honourable family. He had studied at Oxford.^a He had very early professed the Protestant religion, the doctrines of which he most zealously preached. Becoming by this means obnoxious to the Roman Catholics, he was constrained, during the reign of Queen Mary, to take refuge in Germany. On his return, his eminent learning and pious principles attracted the notice of Queen Elizabeth, who, from that time, promoted his advancement in the church.

“ The fellowes” says Hollingworth, “ nominated in the foundation were, 1st, JOHN MALLIN, (or MALLYNS) who, being an exile in Queen Marye’s days, was first a student at Zuricke, and afterwards a noted member of the English church of Franckford.^o

^a He entered at Oxford when about eighteen, (26th October 1553,) a student of Brazennose college.—Goodwin, Tom. p. 418. In 1554-5 he accompanied his uncle Alexander Nowell into Germany, where they remained during the reign of Queen Mary. Upon the accession of Elizabeth they returned to England, when Wolton was made a canon residentiary of Exeter cathedral.—Izaacke, *Antiq. of Exeter*.

^o John Mallyns, one of the new fellowes, was archdeacon of London, and a residentiary prebendary of St Pauls. He had been of Magd. Coll. Oxford, whence he was ejected by Gardiner’s Commission, 26th October 1553. (Hood’s Annals, II. 121.) He was Greek reader to the exiles at Frankfort. (Strype’s Mem. III. 333.) Chaplain to Grindall. (Strype’s Parker, p. 103,) who collated him to the archdeaconry of London, December 13, 1559. He was also rector of Theydon, in Essex, and dean of Bocking, and some time rector of St Botolph’s Billingsgate.—Newcourt, 63, II. 584. His effigies and epitaph are engraved in Dugdale’s St Pauls, p. 106. He founded

"2dly, Alexander Nowell, an exile alsoe, and one of the said English church, and being returned, was made fellowe of the said college, and afterwards dean of St Paul's, London. He wrote many solid and learned treatises; was a bountiful benefactor to Brazennose college; founder and endower of Middleton schoole in Lancashire; and for thirty years together he preached the first and last sermons in Lent before Queen Elizabeth." ^p

"Oliver Carter (the third fellow, who had been a fellow on Queen Mary's foundation,) was a learned man, who wrote a booke in answer to Bristow's motives. He preached solidly and succinctly." ^q

The fourth fellow was Thomas Williamson, afterwards (1579) D.D.

Robert Barber and Thomas Richardson were made the first chaplains or vicars.

COPY OF THE FOUNDATION OF THE COLLEGIATE CHURGH OF MANCHESTER, BY
QUEEN ELIZABETH, DATED THE TWENTIETH YEAR OF HER REIGN, 1578. ^r

"ELIZABETH, by the grace of God, Queen of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. To all people, to whom these presents shall come, greeting: Whereas our beloved and faithful subjects, the gentlemen, and others the parishioners of the town of Manchester, in our county palatine of Lancaster, have

two exhibitions of xii. pounds a-year in Magd. Coll. Died May 22, 1591, and was succeeded in his archdeaconry by Theophilus Aylmer, June 1, 1591.—Churton's *Life of Nowel*—*Le Neve*, p. 108.

^p Alexander Nowell was born at Read Hall, in Lancashire, about A.D. 1507 or 1508. He was educated at Middleton. At the age of thirteen he became a member of Brazen Nose college, where he continued thirteen years, and bestowed on it thirteen scholarships, having been made fellow of it. He was master of Westminster school, the second in succession upon the new foundation, December 5, 1551. Made second prebend at Westminster in 1553. Though he had been long in orders, he was returned to parliament for Loo, in Cornwall, but was reported ineligible, and a new writ was issued. In 1554 he resigned or fled into Germany. In 1559 he was made upon his return archdeacon of Middlesex, January 1st; and in 1560 prebendary of Canterbury, seventh prebendary of Westminster, and dean of St Paul's. In 1572 Dean Nowel founded a free school at Middleton, in Lancashire, which he endowed with thirteen scholarships, and appointments for an upper and an under master. The principal and fellows of Brazen Nose college, were incorporated governors of this school. He was in 1578, as is stated, made fellow of Manchester college.

^q Mr Hollingworth adds, "this Mr. Carter's sons did walk in the godly ways of their father. One of them was preferred to a bishoprick in Ireland, and a more frequent preacher and baptizer than other bishops of his time."

^r This copy, which is in too many places incorrect, was printed many years ago in Manchester. Some few corrections have on the present occasion been attempted.

in humble manner preferred their bill of supplication unto us, to this effect : That whereas in the said town of Manchester, by the donation of Philip and Mary, our beloved sister, King and Queen of England, a certain college was there founded and endowed with revenues, consisting of one master or warden, eight fellows, two chaplains, four clerks, and six choristers ; in the church of which said college, daily prayers are solemnly said for us, and all our realm, and the sacrament, and other divine exercises celebrated : and that the parishioners, our subjects, there abiding and residing, to the number of 10,000, and many others their neighbours near adjoining, are thereby instructed in all true Christian piety, and kept in loyal obedience under our government, and in honest conversation one with another.

“ The which said college, by reason of a statute made in the first year of our reign, is deemed in the judgment of divers to be quite dissolved, and so come into our hands, or else is not so effectually ratified and confirmed in all points as were to be wished ; and in regard thereof, they have showed humbly unto us, to have the said college, collegiate church, and company, by our authority to be ratified, established, and confirmed.

“ Know ye, therefore, that we, for the zeal we have to God’s glory, and the advancement of his church’s wealth and profits ; as also for the love we carry to our said subjects, and the care we have always to maintain them therein in all true religion and godliness, do, in a gracious condescension unto their said humble petitions, of our own especial favour, for ourselves, our heirs, and successors, for ever give, grant, and ordain, by virtue of these our letters, which we have caused to be made patent, that there shall be in the town of Manchester, for ever, one college, which shall be called by the name of CHRIST’S COLLEGE in Manchester by Queen Elizabeth, to consist of one warden, priest, by degrees bachelor of divinity, four fellows priests, bachelors of arts : which said college we have decreed shall be erected, ordained, founded, and established. And by these presents we do absolutely ordain and establish the same, for ever to endure ; and do command the same to be effectually and inviolably observed and continued for ever.

“ And furthermore, to the end that our said college may be always renewed and replenished with competent persons in all respects, we make, ordain, and constitute by these presents, our well-beloved John Wolton, the first warden of the said college ; John Mallyns, Alexander Nowell, Oliver Carter, and Thomas Williamson, the first fellows of the said perpetual college ; and by these presents we do ordain and grant, for us and our heirs, &c. that the warden and fellows of the said college, and their successors, in all respects, in deeds and name, be from henceforth to continue and be one body, incorporated and erected by Queen Elizabeth,

And the warden and fellows of Christ's College, in Manchester, of the foundation of Queen Elizabeth, and their successors, by these presents we do incorporate, erect, ordain, make, constitute, one incorporate body and body politic of the same name, to continue and remain for ever. And which we ordain and grant for ever.

“ Furthermore, we will, and by these presents ordain and grant for ourselves, our heirs, &c. that the said warden and fellows of Christ's College, in Manchester, and their successors, by the name of the warden and fellows of Christ's College, in Manchester, have continued succession, and by the same name be, and shall be able persons and lawful in all respects, to have, seek up, and possess the goods, chattles, messuages, meadows, pastures, rectories, tythes, &c. &c. as well of us, our heirs, &c. as of any other person ; their due to be paid to them or their successors, for any manner of territories holden either in fee, or by perpetuity, [and such holders] in all respects, effectually to do and perform all such thing or things, at all times.

“ Furthermore, we will for us, our heirs, &c. grant unto the said warden and fellows, that from henceforth they shall have one common seal to use, at all times, whensoever the same shall be thought by them necessary, to be employed in any causes concerning the premises specified in these our letters patent ; and that they, or their successors, by the name of the warden and fellows of Christ's College, Manchester, may and shall be able to prosecute, defend, and be defended, answer, and be answered, unto all manner of causes, quarrels, actions, &c. in any courts, and against any persons whatsoever in this our realm of England, and before any of the justices and judges.

“ And we do appoint, [that when] by the death of the said John Wolton, or otherwise, the office of warden shall be void of an incumbent, in his place shall succeed and be warden, a priest, so that he be bachelor in divinity ; [and that there] shall be placed in the said room [thereof other] successors, from time to time, by our letters sealed and signed by the great seal of England.

“ Also, when or how often soever, by death or otherwise, it shall happen, any of the fellowships be void, we will that in the room [thereof] shall succeed some one, at least bachelor of arts, that shall be chosen or elected thereunto by the warden and the rest of the fellows, or of the greater number of them, of which number we will have the warden to be one ; the same fellow so chosen to be confirmed in his place by letters and the common seal of the said college thereunto annexed. And we will that he be thus chosen and declared to be fellow, and that they and every of them, and their successors after them, after the same manner be elected and

confirmed fellows of the said Christ's College, in Manchester, of the foundation of Queen Elizabeth, for ever.

" Furthermore, we will and ordain, that in the said college there be for ever two chaplains or vicars, which shall visit the sick, and administer the sacrament and other divine services in the college, in the parish of Manchester :

" Also, that there be in the said college for ever, four laymen, and four children, skilled in music, to sing, say prayers, read chapters, and continue other divine exercises in the said collegiate church.

" We name and appoint, for the time only, that Robert Barber and Thomas Richardson be the first chaplains or vicars,

" And that Robert Leigh, Charles Leigh, Philip Gosnett, and John Glover, be the first singing men ; and Anthony Glover, Hugh Shallcross, Mark Leonard, and William Ellam, be the first children, skilled and expert in music to be in the said college.

" Whenever, or how often, by death or otherwise, it shall happen any chaplain, chorister, or singing man, or singing child, by change of voice, or otherwise, be void, we will that there be always another placed in the vacant room by the warden and fellows, and their successors, or by the greater number of them, whereof we will that the warden be always one.

" Also, we will that the said warden, fellows, chaplains, laymen, and children, shall be chosen and received into the said college, and shall have such yearly stipends, as [may] be by us deputed and prescribed unto them.

" We do limit and appoint unto the warden every day that he shall be present and resident, four shillings.

" To every fellow, every day he shall be present, sixteen pence.

" To every chaplain, sixpence halfpenny farthing a-day.

" To every chorister, fourpence halfpenny a-day.

" To every singing boy, twopence halfpenny farthing a-day.

" We will, that one college-house be provided for the warden, if he be present, or in his absence, the sub-warden, without any rent.

" And because we are given to understand that the said college hath sustained great loss by the absence of the wardens, who discharged no part of the duty and charge by their office required of them, but did draw the greatest part of the revenues of the college we decree, that hereafter [neither] the warden nor fellows, for the time being, shall receive any rents, revenues, &c. of the said college, but only when they are present, or go to visit the sick, or preach in some village in the parish of Manchester.

“ The money that shall arise by the absence of the wardens and fellows, our will is, shall be converted towards founding a competent house for the warden and fellows, till they be sufficiently provided.

“ After the said house shall be finished, we decree, that every day the warden shall be absent, twenty-four pence of his stipend; and for every day the fellows shall be absent, eightpence shall be employed to the better furnishing of the table and diet of the rest of the company or society which shall be present; and the rest of the warden's stipend, twenty-four pence, and of the fellows eightpence, every day they are absent, shall be distributed in bread, &c. to some poor inhabitants of the town, at the discretion of the fellows; but if the warden be present, he shall receive of the present fourpence a-day, and of his stipend, who is absent, eightpence a-day, to be bestowed upon the poor.

“ And we ordain and determine that neither the warden nor the fellows shall receive any of the revenues, nor give any voice in chapter-house, until solemnly by oath, before the rest, and three or four gentlemen of the parish, then witnesses, then present, he or they having bound themselves to keep and observe this our statute in all points, not to take one penny of the profits of the college, upon the conditions above or to be annexed; and that they shall not seek for, procure, purchase, nor obtain any dispensation to the contrary, to be given or granted by us, our heirs, &c. or by any ecclesiastical persons or civil, neither shall accept of any such manner of dispensations offered unto them, by any person whomsoever, under pain of perjury.

“ And if either the warden or any of the fellow do the contrary, they shall be (*ipso facto*,) accounted and deemed perjured persons, and shall no longer hold their places of wardenship or fellowships. Then, and so often it shall be lawful for us, our heirs, &c. the case standing, [to induct into the] place of the parties so offending against this statute, another warden, as effectually in all respects, as if the late incumbent were dead.

And likewise it shall be lawful for the warden and fellows to substitute another new fellow in the place of the said late fellow, being perjured, as if he were dead:

“ We do permit unto the warden, so often as he shall be thereunto necessarily occasioned, for every three months, to wit, fourscore days in the year, to be absent from the college, for his recreation and visiting his friends; and, during this time, it shall be lawful for him to receive his daily stipend of four shillings per day.

“ Unto every fellow is permitted quarterly, fifteen days; or threescore days in the whole year, wherein it shall be lawful for him to be absent, and during that time, to receive his stipend of sixteenpence a-day.

“ Also, so often as it shall happen that either the warden or any fellow be absent

touching the necessary affairs of the college, by the consent of the warden and the society, then he shall receive the rest of the stipend, as if he were present.

“ Furthermore, of our ample grace and good-will we have granted full power and authority to our beloved the bishops of London and Rochester, the deans of St Paul’s and Westminster, for the time being, to them, or any two of them, that they shall make or ordain such wholesome statutes or decrees, concerning the right government of the said college, or any member thereof, the warden, fellows, chaplains, laymen, and singing boys for the time being, by virtue of these letters patents, concerning their, or any of their wages, or any other thing whatsoever respecting the due order or government of the said college, or any member thereof, so that the said statutes be not repugnant to these letters patent, contained and expressed, which said statutes, by the persons above named, so to be made as aforesaid, we will, grant, and by these letters patent, command the same inviolably to be observed and kept from time to time for ever.

“ And furthermore, to the end that our good meaning may take effect for the corroborating of the premises :—Know ye, that we of our mere favour and knowledge have given and granted by these presents, for us, our heirs, &c. and do give and grant unto the warden and fellows of Christ’s college in Manchester, founded by Queen Elizabeth, for ever, all those messuages, tenements, and cottages, with their appurtenances in Manchester, Newton, Deansgate, and Kirkman’s Hulme, in the parish of Manchester, and the county aforesaid, now in the several occupations of Richard Baguley, John Kennion, Edward Pendleton, Elizabeth Beech, Hugh Hartley, Thomas Buerdfall, Robert Hulme, Richard Whitworth, Hugh Hall, Godfrey Hall, Stephen Hall, Hugh Travis, Ralph Barnes, Thomas Hall, Ralph Kemp, Adam Holland, Nicholas Bowker, John Whitworth, George Reddish, Roger Smith, James Dawson, Nicholas Hodgkinson, John Smith, Ralph Whitworth, James Barlow, Edward Boardman, George Travis, Thomas Hollinsworth, Otiwell Boardman, John Byron, Esq., Thomas Hall, Richard Beswick, Thomas Kenyon, Ralph Marlör, Robert Leigh, Elizabeth Kenyon, Nicholas Percival, Edmund Trafford, Esq., William Avin, George Travis, Richard Webster, Edmund Hayworth, Richard Harrison, Thomas Smith, James Riddlestones, Anthony Sheppard, Henry Barrows, James Smith, George Rawlinson, Edmund Blomeley, Hammet Kenshaw, Robert Jenney, John Coup, John Dronfield, John Morris, James Glover, Ralph Bibby, Charles Leigh, Edward Sorrocold, James Wolsencroft, Thomas Bolton, Hugh Boardman, Peter Darbyshire, the wife of Richard Hartley, the wife of Richard Vaux, the wife of Thomas Vaux, Adam Byron, George Proudlove, Magdalene Percival, the wife of Thomas Stevenson, Adam

Pilkington, Reynold Winnington, of them, or any of them, the assigns of them, or the assigns of any of them :

“ Also, one parcel of land in Manchester, known by the name of the parsonage croft, containing by estimation two acres, in the occupation of Henry Earl of Derby, or his assigns ; also one parcel of land in Newton aforesaid, commonly called Scotland croft, in the occupation of John Whitworth, or his assigns ; also certain closes or closures of land, with the appurtenances in Newton aforesaid, containing nine acres of land, now or late in the occupation of George Beech, or his assigns ; also one other parcel of land, with the appurtenances in Newton aforesaid, in the occupation of Randle Kemp, or his assigns ; also one other parcel of land in Newton aforesaid, in the occupation of John Byron, Esq. or his assigns ; also one messuage, called Guildhouse, in the possession of Thomas Travis, or his assigns ; and two messuages in Salford, near the White Horse, in the occupation of Edward Gibson, or his assigns ; and one close, called the great Brier Riding, in Salford, in the occupation of Ralph Holden, or his assigns ; another parcel of land called the little Brier Riding ; and two parcels of meadow land, in the occupation of Catharine Torkington, or her assigns ; and also the free rents, customs, and services issuing out of divers lands and tenements, now or late belonging to John Byron, Thomas Beek, Ralph Holden, John Booth, Reynold Winnington, in the occupation of Robert Langley :

“ And also, all and every the tythe-corn yearly, renewing and growing in Manchester, Broughton, Chetham, Chorlton, &c. near Manchester, Didsbury, Withington, Salford, Levenshulme, Openshaw, Trafford, Stretford, Chorleton, Barlow, Blackley, Hulme near Stockport, Clayton, Failsworth, Snoledale ; also Droylsden, Moston, Ancoats, Gorton, Besswick, Reddish, Denton, Haughton, Houghend, Harpurheg, Kersal, Kirkmanshulme, Bradford, Ardwick, Rushehulme, Cromptall, Highfield, Newton, Burnage, Orodshall, Hardye, Houghpark, Collyhurst, Clayden, Hopwood, Clayden, and Heaton-Norris, in our said county of Lancaster, of ancient time, and now of late appertaining to our said college of Manchester ; as also all tythes of lambs, hay, wool, hemp, and flax, and all and every the mortgages, easter-book, small tythes, offerings yearly arising in Manchester aforesaid, or in the said parish of Manchester, now in the several tenures or occupations of Alexander and Robert Barlow and Randle Huzlestone, and others ; as also two messuages, with the appurtenances, in Dunham Massy in our county of Chester, now in the tenure or occupation of William Booth, Esq. or his assignees, lately parcels of the possessions of the said college of Manchester : And also all and every those manors, messuages, milnes, land, tenements, meadows, feeding-grounds,

pastures, marshes, woods, underwoods, waters, ponds, pools, reversions, servitudes receipts, vicarage churches, and sometimes called by the name of the blessed Mary of Manchester; together with all chapels to the same church or parish chapelries, offices, lands, pensions, portions, tythes, oblations, allotments and protectorships, free gifts, dispositions, rights, rectories, vicarages, advowsons of churches, and other benefices and offices, with several court-leets, enfranchisements, pledges, free-warrens, and all other things thereunto belonging, or in any manner of way appertaining, and all chattles of felons, fugitives, and condemned persons, and all other the rights, jurisdictions, franchisements, liberties, privileges, profits, commodities, emoluments, moieties, possessiona, reversions, and other our hereditaments whatsoever, as well spiritual as temporal whatsoever, of what kind, nature, degree, or condition soever they shall be, or by what name soever they shall be known and called by in Manchester aforesaid, in our said county of Lancaster, in our county of Chester above-named, or in either of them, or in any other place whatsoever, within this our realm of England, which heretofore of late, or former times, were belonging, or in any way appertaining unto the said college of Manchester, or to the master or warden and fellows of the said college and parish, or to either of them, before the date of these said letters patent, and wherewith were any manner of way in whole or in part, of old time or of late, appertaining unto the said master or warden of the said college and the officers thereof, or to any of them, or wherewith they are so taken, reputed, and deemed to belong to the said college, or to any member thereof, or officer whomsoever, by any manner, right, or title or interest, whereby we have been invested in the same, or whatsoever right, title, or interest we now have, or heretofore have had therefrom, to have and to hold and possess all and every the aforesaid manors, messuages, territories, tenements, rents, reversions, servitudes, hereditaments, churches, chapels, obits, lands, tythes, oblations, liberties, franchisements, privileges, and all and every other the premises by these presents above-granted, with all and every other their appurtenances unto the said warden and fellows of Christ's College in Manchester, founded by Queen Elizabeth, for ever, to the proper use and behalf of the said warden and wardens, and fellows of Christ's College in Manchester, founded by Queen Elizabeth and her successors, for and to be holden of us, our heirs, and successors, in free, pure, and perpetual alms, yielding and paying unto us, our heirs, and successors, all the time of the vacancy of every warden and fellows, such sums of money for first fruits, as by the laws and statutes of this realm ought to be yielded, and pay to us, our heirs and successors, and as hath been in former time accustomed to be yielded and paid.

“ And furthermore, of our more abundant favour, certain knowledge, and mere motion, we give and grant by these presents, to the aforesaid warden and fellows of Christ’s College in Manchester aforesaid, special licence, free liberty and authority to have, ask, and receive for themselves, and their successors for ever, over and besides the premises above granted by these presents, as well of us, our heirs, and successors, as of any other person or persons whatsoever, all or any manor, messuages, territories tenements, rectories, tythes, proctorships, advowsons of churches, rents, revenues, servitors, and other hereditaments whatsoever, with the appurtenances, within this our réalm of England, or any other our dominions, which are not holden of us, our heirs and successors, immediately *in capite*, or otherwise, by king’s service, so they do not exceed the clear value or yearly value of thirty pounds for ever, and besides all charges, according to the true ancient value of the same.

“ And furthermore, we give and grant by these presents, special licence to all manner of person or persons whatsoever, that he, or they, shall and may lawfully give, grant, sell, bequeath, and alienate unto the said warden and fellows of Christ’s College in Manchester aforesaid, and their successors, to their only use for ever, all manner of manors, messuages, territories, tenements, rectories, tythes, advowsons of churches, rents, reversions, servitors, and all other their hereditaments whatsoever, with the appurtenances, which are not holden immediately of us, or our successors *in capite*, or otherwise in king’s service, to the aforesaid yearly value of thirty pounds, over and besides all charges, according to the true ancient value thereof, to have, hold, occupy, and enjoy the same in manner of mortmain, unto the said warden and fellows of Christ’s College in Manchester, founded by Queen Elizabeth and her successors, to possess the same for ever, any statute, act, ordinance, decree, proviso, restraint, cause or causes, thing or things, to the contrary notwithstanding ; and also to have and enjoy the same without any brief or briefs, or any other licence or letters-patent, inquisitions or mandates, by our heirs or successors in this behalf, to be had or made, or to be presented, obtained, or retrieved at their hands, or to be put in execution as coming from them ; and also without impeachment, molestation, let, or hindrance of our heirs or successors, justiciaries, escheats, lieutenants, coroners, bailiffs, or any other of our ministers and officers and the ministers and officers of our heirs and successors whatsoever or whomsoever, and without any fine or fines paying unto our use, or to the use of our heirs and successors, for the obtaining licence of the said alienation. Nevertheless, we will, and by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, do grant that it is, and may be lawful to and for the said warden and fellows of the said college

of Manchester, and their successors, to take a view of the houses and other the lands, tenements, and hereditaments, which were of late times given and granted to the said college by act of parliament in the first year of our beloved brother Edward the Sixth, albeit they be holden of us, our heirs and successors, *in capite*, or in king's service, the statute of lands in mortmain or any other cause or thing whatsoever to be named to the contrary notwithstanding.

“ And furthermore of our special favour, for us, our heirs, and successors, we will and grant by these presents unto the warden and fellows of the college aforesaid, free liberty to search, and require all and every the lands and tenements which at this time do belong to the school of Manchester, albeit they be holden *in capite*, or king's service, and statute of land in mortmain to the contrary notwithstanding, and unto every person and persons by virtue of these presents, we give and grant licence to give, grant, and alienate unto the said warden and fellows of the manor aforesaid, and for us, our heirs, and successors, we will, and by these presents do grant unto the said warden and fellows of the said college, that they shall and may have these our letters-patent, made and sealed under our great seal of England, without any fine or fee, great or little, to be paid in said Exchequer, or in any other place, to be made unto our use for the same.

“ Provided always, nevertheless, that we and our assignees, have, hold, occupy, and enjoy, and may have, hold, occupy, and enjoy all manner of tythes and portions of tythes and corn whatsoever, expressed and specified in one certain indenture, bearing date the twelfth day of December, in the eighteenth year of our reign, betwixt us of the one part, and Thomas Herle, master, or warden and fellows, and chaplains of the college of the Blessed Lady of Manchester, in the county of Lancaster, of the foundation of Philip and Mary, late king and queen of England, made and indented on the other part, and by the said rescript or indenture such things as are expressed to be given, granted, or demised according to the true intent of the said rescript or indenture, and that all and all manner of persons unto whom we have granted or demised the aforesaid tythes, in writing, by our letters-patent, their executors and assigns, may have possession and enjoy the same according to the true intent and purport of the said letters-patent, without any impeachment, expulsion, eviction, or contradiction of the said master or warden or fellows, or their successors, or any of them, or of any other person or persons whatsoever, by their assent, consent, commandment, or procurement of them or any one of them, any cause, matter, or thing by these presents, committed or done, or any thing in these presents contained to the contrary notwithstanding, yet so nevertheless that our assigns, executors, and their assignees do pay, or cause to be paid

unto the new warden and his fellows, and their successors, the yearly rent reserved in our letters-patent, bearing date the twentieth day of September, in the eighteenth year of our reign, according to the true intent and meaning of the said letters-patent, especially for the express mention of the yearly value and certainty of the premises is made in these presents, any statute, act, ordinance, proviso, proclamation, or restraint, to the contrary made, published, ordained, or provided, or any other cause, matter, or thing to the contrary notwithstanding. In witness whereof, &c. dated at Gorhambury the twenty-eighth July, in the year of our reign the twentieth."

When Dr Wolton entered upon his wardenship, the inhabitants of Manchester (as the charter of the new foundation states) amounted to ten thousand.*

The following year, (A. D. 1579,) was a remarkable one in the town, from the circumstance that the manor of Manchester passed from the ancient family to whom it had descended by hereditary possession, having been sold to an obscure citizen and cloth-worker of London.†

During the wardenship of Dr Wolton, Puritanism had much increased, and was gradually insinuating itself within the pale of the Church of England. On the other hand, among the general mass of the people, the influence of public vigils and wakes seems to have gone on increasing in its vicious effects, until it was at length found necessary to put it down by a particular and local order. "Anno 1579," (says Hollingworth) "Henry, Earl of Derby, Henry, Earl of Huntingdon, William, Lord Bishop of Chester, and others his Majesty's High Commissioners, being assembled at Manchester, gave forth orders and injunctions against pipers and minstrels playing, making and frequenting alehouses, beare or bull-beating on the Sabbath dayes, or any other dayes in time of divine service or sermons; also against superfluous and superstitious ringing, wakes and common feasts, continuing in alehouses, drunkenesse, &c."

And "about this time," (adds the same writer,) "the Bishop of Chester

* Mr Hollingworth mentions, in the annals of this year (A. D. 1578), that "there was a difference between the lord of the manor and the town, about the choice of a burreeve. The steward chose John Gee, but the town Robert Langley. This yeare alsoe the church-wardens taxed the parish in almost nine fifs for destroying crowes." Mr Aston thus explains the tax:—"The church-wardens made a levy upon the parish, amounting to nine pounds, to enable them to give premiums for destroying *crows*, which had become a public nuisance."

† On the 15th of May, 21st of Elizabeth (1579) Sir William West, knight, Lord de la Warr, sold the manor, and all the rights and privileges attached to it, to John Lacye, of London, citizen and cloth-worker, for L. 3000.

erected, and his successours encouraged, A PUBLIC EXERCISE, to be held at Manchester on the second Thursday in every month, and nominated some grave, godly, learned ministers to preach in their courses in the afternoon, and commanded all parsons, viccars, curates, readers, schoolmasters, within the deanery of Manchester, to be present at the said exercise, and to be ready in the afternoone to be more privately conferred with, examined, instructed, and directed by the said nominated moderators; and to observe and obey their orders and directions, upon pain of censure."

The names of the moderators were Mr Shaw, Mr Bury, Mr Carter of Manchester, Mr Asheton of Middleton, Mr Williamson of Manchester, and Mr Langley of Prestwick.

Dr Wolton was only two years warden of Manchester, when, upon his elevation to the see of Exeter, he resigned. Hollingworth names him "a pious, painfull, skillful divine." Goodwin pays the following tribute to his character:—"He was a strenuous assertor of conformity, and all the efforts of his prudence were requisite to enable him to support, as he deemed necessary, the ecclesiastical polity, and, at the same time, not to incur the displeasure of many powerful persons. Amongst some of these, it is acknowledged that he found enemies during his lifetime, but even by them, after his death, he was regretted."

"Dr Wolton, upon his elevation to the see of Exeter, was consecrated August 2, 1579, in the Archiepiscopal Chapel at Croydon, by Archbishop Grindall, assisted by John (Elmer) London, and John (Young) Rochester. On the 13th March 1593, before he had completed his sixtieth year, he died of an asthma. Scarcely two hours before his death, he dictated letters on important business, as if he were in a state of sound health. He was at this time admonished to be careful of himself, but, borrowing a celebrated saying of the Emperor Vespasian, he replied, that it became a bishop to die standing; and shortly after, in walking across his apartment, he fell into the arms of his attendants, and immediately expired. He is buried on the south side of the choir of his cathedral church, near the place where a monument was erected to his memory by his eldest son (John, Fellow of All Souls College, M. A. and a graduate in physic) with the following inscription, on a fair stone fixed in the wall:—

(Epitaphium in obitum Reverendissimi Patris Johannis Woltoni, Episcopi Exoniensis.)

"Hic jacet,—haud jacet hic,—tumulo quem credis inesse,
Terra nequit tantum contumulare virum,
Ingenium, genium, mores, pietatis honores,
Eloquiumque pium busta perusta tegent,
Falleris!—Ultonus tonus est, sic spiritus. "Unde
Hoc nôsti?" Tonus est cœlicus orbe tonans.

Many incorrect copies of this epitaph have been published. The above, taken from the cathedral at Exeter, is furnished by Mr Whatton of Manchester.

CHAPTER XIII.

ANNALS OF THE WARDENSHIP OF WILLIAM CHADERTON, D. D. A. D. 1579 TO 1595.*

Drawn up by Dr HIBBERT.

WILLIAM CHADERTON, D. D. was born at Nuthurst, near Manchester. He had been brought up at Cambridge, where he was a Fellow of Christ's College. In 1562, he was admitted Regius and Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity, and a year after was Master of Queen's College. He is said by Sir John Harington of Kelstone "to have been well beloved among the scholars, and the rather for that he did not affect any soure and austere fashion either in teaching or government, as some use to doe, but well tempered, both with courage and courtesie."

Bishop Godwin, the celebrated author of the work entitled "*De Præsulibus Angliæ*," married a daughter of John Wolton, Bishop of Exeter.—(See *Bibliotheca Topographia, Izaake (Antiquities of Exeter) and Godwin.*)

Bishop Wolton wrote, 1. The Armour of Proufe; shewing the firm Fortress of Defence and Haven of Rest, in these troublesome Towns. London, 1576. 8vo.—2. Of the Immortality of the Soul, wherein is declared the Origin, Nature, and Power of the same, &c.—3. Christian Manuell, or the Life and Manners of True Christians, wherein is declared how needful it is for the Children of God to manifest their Faith by their Works. 1576. Ames, 1094.—4. Castle of Christians and Fortress for the Faithful, besieged and defended now almost 6000 years.—5. New Anatomie of the whole Man, as well as his Body as of his Soul, declaring the Condition and Constitution of the same in his first Creation, Corruption, Regeneration, and Glorification. 1576. Ames, p. 998.—6. Discourse of the Conscience, wherein are declared the unspeakable Joys and comfort of a good Conscience, and the Grief of an evil Conscience.—These six Treatises were all printed at London in 8vo, 1576. Ames, p. 936, 1133. Wood, Vol. I. p. 262.

* In Mr Greswell's collections scarcely any thing has been done towards a history of the wardenship of Dr Chaderton. Dr Hibbert has therefore drawn up this chapter from materials to be found elsewhere, particularly from the state-letters in Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*.

† Dr Chaderton, being chaplain to Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, we find him consulting that lord about the choice of a wife. (Peck's *Desid.* Vol. I. p. 81.) It is also related of Dr Chaderton, that in preaching a wedding-sermon at Cambridge, he made use of the following comparison:—"The choice of a wife is full of hazard, not unlike to a man groping for one fish in a barrel full of serpents. If he 'scape harm of the snakes, and light on the fish, he may be thought fortunate: Yet let him not boast, for perhaps it may be but an eel." But the originality of this comparison may be disputed.

In 1573, he was made prebendary of York, and in 1579, through the interest of his great friend and patron the Earl of Leicester, was consecrated Bishop of Chester. Immediately afterwards, he accepted of the wardenship of Manchester *in commendam*.

Soon after Dr Chaderton had entered upon the duties of his wardenship, the legality of the leases of the church made by Herle came under consideration. At the suggestion of the Bishop, the Lord Treasurer Burleigh and Secretary Walsingham made choice of the Earl of Derby, Sir Richard Sherburne, Sir John Radcliffe, and Sir Edward Fitton, knights, to procure from such as had obtained long leases belonging to the college, some concession which might lead to an augmentation of the revenues of the church. Orders were at the same time issued by the Queen's council, that those who had pensions and leases from Manchester College were at first to be *gently* dealt with, in order to induce them to resign. But this leniency had little effect. A curious trait of this negociation is, that there was an intention to deprive the ex-warden Herle of his pittance, which had been granted him on the occasion of his resignation. But the Bishop was directed to let "old Herle enjoy his pension, because he was not fit to be trusted with any cure of souls."

Dr Chaderton, when he undertook the wardenship of the Collegiate Church of Manchester, was (if the testimony of Campian the Jesuit be admissible) a Calvinist. There can also be little doubt, from many circumstances in his life, that he was inclined to puritanic modes and tenets. His wardenship is greatly sullied by the persecutions which took place against the Catholics, whose refusal to acknowledge the Queen's supremacy was considered treason against the throne of England. They were stigmatised under the name of RECUSANTS. By the force of the act passed against Catholics, recusants were liable to fines and imprisonment. If, however, they persisted in their error, they might undergo capital punishment. The publication even of bulls of absolution from the Pope, or the acceptance of them, was made constructive treason.

Dr Chaderton appears to have lived on terms of the most intimate friendship with Henry Stanley, Earl of Derby, who dwelt at Alport Lodge.^a They each of

^a Mr Palmer (Siege of Manchester) gives the following history of Alport Lodge, though I must remark in quoting it, that the mode in which it came into the Derby family is not satisfactorily ascertained. There are some reasons for supposing that Alport was one of the estates forfeited to the first Earl of Derby by some adherent of Richard III. "The Lodge," says Mr Palmer, "was situated in Aldport Park, which was held, soon after the foundation of the collegiate church, by the warden thereof, under a rent of four marks per annum, from Richard West,

them belonged to the ecclesiastical commission for the north of England, whose province it was to look after the state of the churches, and to preserve them from the contamination of popery. Whether the commissioners were, in the first place, rather lax in attending to their office, we are not informed. But on the 10th of June 1580, the Lords and others in council represented to Henry Hastings, Earl of Huntington, lord president of the north, that many gentlemen and others in Lancashire had fallen away to the popish religion ; for which reason, the Queen had thought fit to send down to his lordship another ecclesiastical commission, which was to have effect in the diocese of Chester, requesting, that, in conjunction with the Earl of Derby and the Lord Bishop of Chester, they would fix a place for their first meeting, and proceed more straitly against the gentry who had led to the defection of others. It was also directed that the commissioners should have a sermon at each meeting.—A prompt attention was paid to this order, and Manchester was agreed upon as the place where the *sederunts* should be held.

Some little delay however took place in executing the commission, owing to the legal question being started, whether the powers of the former commission were not superseded by the new commission.* But this objection was of little avail, as the old commission, under which the commissioners eventually preferred acting,

Lord de la Warre, Lord of Manchester, and continued to be enjoyed by his successors in office under the same annual rent, until the dissolution of the college in the reign of Edward VI., when it was granted to the Earl of Derby, with the rest of the college land. Thus it appears, that Alport Park and Over Alport contained in the whole 95 acres and upwards, and would cover the whole area between the rivers Irwell and Tib, and between the river Medlock and the present Quay-street. The Park was situated upon the right of the road to Knot-mill, and included the present Castle and Camp Fields, for Camden mentions the foundation of the castle as being visible in his time, within the park of the Earl of Derby.

“ The precise situation of the lodge cannot be ascertained with accuracy, but I have good reason to suppose that it stood near the spot now occupied by Samuel Ward’s house and plumber’s shop, adjoining to Aldport Street (now called Deansgate), and almost opposite to the end of Fleet Street.”

* “ The opinion of the judges of the realm (and of divers civilians,) upon a conference had with her Majesties learned counsell, touchinge mulctes to be imposed on recusants, dated July 8, 1580.

“ They thinke, that by the statute anno 1. of the Queen’s Majestie, that the commissioners of ecclesiastical causes have auctoritie to inflicte any punishment by mulcte or otherwise, which the ecclesiastical lawe doth allowe of, because all ecclesiasticall jurisdiction and auctoritie is by the statute annexed to the croune; and, by the same statute, full power is given to her Majestie to committ the same auctoritie to such persons as (it) shall please her highness. And that such commissioners shall and maye execute the same, according to the tenor of the said commission.

was sufficiently severe and effective. At first, the commissioners proceeded to levy against such recusants as did not appear at church, fines of a small value ; but this proving ineffectual, the Queen advised with her judges how to impose larger mulcts, and ordered the principal recusants to be imprisoned, under the keeping of some godly person at Halton Castle in Cheshire. Dr Chaderton executed the ungracious task entrusted to him against the recusants with such zeal as to obtain the thanks of the Queen.

Another measure was also resolved upon. The Court represented to Dr Chaderton “ the inconveniences with regard to the Queen’s safety, of young gentlemen being educated in Popish countries, and requiring him to call before him divers gentlemen of his diocese, and to take bonds of them to call their children home in three months time ; and also to inquire, by his archdeacons, what other persons were abroad, that they might be ordered home.”

The Queen next expressed her determination to proceed roundly against the Catholics. Dr Chaderton was required to make a certificate of all the recusants in his diocese. Owing to these instructions, the county of Lancaster was greatly agitated by the suspicion, that the Catholics were plotting against the state ;—nor was the suspicion entirely devoid of foundation, Jesuitical missionaries having been sent over from Rome to propagate the Roman Catholic tenets. Fathers Campion and Persons, two of the most eminent of their number, selected the north of England as the scene of their action. In the summer of this year these missionaries were entertained in the houses of several gentlemen ; namely, of Laurence

“ And hereupon it was agreed, that D. Lewis (Judge of the Admiraltie,) shoulde, with the advice of some other civilians, set downe what maye be done by the ecclesiasticall lawe :

“ That a bishoope, and no inferior judge, may punishe any person, ecclesiastical or lay, by anye pecuniarie paine for (any) ecclesiastical crime or offence, especially if he shall perceive the same paine to be more feared than the censure of the church :

“ And that by the same lawe the ordinarie may punishe, by a pecuniarie paine, (all) such as absteyne from going to church to divine service, without reasonable cause of excuse, yf it be of contempt.

“ Whereby it appeareth, that by the saide lawe ecclesiasticall a pecuniarie paine may be put upon such recusants. And that beinge soe, there is no doubt but her Majesties commissioners, (whereof the bishop or ordinarie is in all commissions one,) may execute that lawe by vertue of their commission.

“ And for the levying of the saide pecuniarie pains, yf it be astraited into the exchequer, the ordinarie course there is well known, (viz.) that such paines as be there astraited are to be levied upon their lands and goods.

FRAS. WALSINGHAM.”

Vaux, late warden of Manchester College, Talbot, Esquire, Thomas Southworth, gent. Bartholemew Hesketh, gent. Mrs Allen, widow, Richard Hoghton of the Park, and several others.^b

During this period of persecution, the Bishop of Chester, who had been but too ready to give effect to the relentless mandates of the Queen's councils, was at the same time steadily encouraging the growth of puritanism. He gave rather too much encouragement to religious exercises, named also prophesyings, in which the puritans delighted; for which conduct, on account of the suspicion which the Queen began to entertain of these exercises, he received a private admonition from the Archbishop of York, who warned him that the young clergy were too fond of such things, and that the exercises were not to be allowed without the authority of her majesty or a synod.

In the meantime the Queen's council was urging to still fresh prosecutions. In a letter, dated May 28, 1581, her majesty, in expressing her great desire to see an uniformity in religion, required the Bishop of Chester to examine what recusants he had in his diocese, and to send in their names to the *custodes rotulorum* and justices of the peace, that they might be indicted at the next sessions; and likewise to put the act in execution against popish reconcilers, sayers and hearers of mass, also against schoolmasters, that is, priests lurking under this name. Some visions of a girl named Elizabeth Orton gave disturbance to her majesty, as they were supposed to be the plot of some priest or jesuit. The bishop was therefore ordered to have the young maid well whipped, in order to make her confess the truth, and, if that had no effect, to send her up to be farther dealt with.

Sir John Southworth of the Samlesbury family was at this time confined in prison for recusancy; but, through the intercession of his son, who was disposed to conform to the protestant religion, much partiality was shown to the knight. A mitigation of his confinement was left to the discretion of the commissioners. It was either allowed him to reside at his own house, on giving bond for his forthcoming when required, or, if he remained in prison, he was permitted to have the attendance of a servant of his own, and his children were not to be denied access to him. In consequence of these directions from the council, Sir John Southworth was permitted to go home.

About this time disputes arose concerning the bread of the holy sacrament, whether it should be common bread or the wafer sort. But the Lords of Council

^b Baines's Lancashire.

ordered that either one or the other should be allowed, as every parish liked best, until the parliament took farther cognizance of the matter. This answer not being deemed sufficient, the bishop was directed to indulge the sticklers for wafer bread in their choice, they being as yet children in Christ, and therefore rather to be fed with milk than strong meat: and catholics also who refused were not to be pressed at first to communicate, but preachers were rather to be provided for their instruction; though it was signified that for this purpose good divines were much wanted in Lancashire. Yet under this semblance of liberality the most extensive commitments to Chester Castle were deemed advisable. Campian the jesuit was apprehended, and along with him many others, whom his mission to this country had involved; the priest was afterwards sent to the tower of London. The labours of the commissioners thus became seriously irksome. Mr Holland, therefore, (an avowed puritan,) and Mr Hopwood, were allowed to render to the Earl of Derby and the bishop their joint assistance.

About this time the state of the revenue of the college was very much taken into consideration. The Lord Treasurer and Secretary Walsingham wrote to the Earl of Derby and others of the commissioners appointed for the purpose of compounding with those tenants to whom Herle and the late fellows had granted very unreasonable leases, to bring the dispute to a close. "It had been a question in law," says a writer, "whether the college had then a legal foundation and establishment, being dissolved by act of Parliament under Edward VI. and though restored and refounded by Queen Mary, yet was said to be suppress again by the Act 1. Eliz. and if so, then the said Thomas Herle, and the fellows that joined with him in leasing out tithes and college lands for so long term of years, were not legally warden and fellows, and consequently their act and grant illegal and invalid. And so much is expressed even in the foundation of Queen Elizabeth, granted in the twentieth year of her reign."*

The answer which the Earl of Derby and the other commissioners gave was as follows:

The Earl of Derby and others to the Lord Treasurer and Secretary Walsingham in behalf of Manchester College.

"Our humble duty recommended unto your honors. Whereas we received your honor's letters to deal with the tenants of the College of Manchester to reduce them to some favourable consideration, or other yearly augmentation of rent corn, towards the maintenance of preaching and hospitality, two things most needful in this country; it may please your honor to understand, that, in re-

* Account of the Wardens of Manchester, published 1773.

spect of your honour's letters, and of the good mind we bear towards the state of that college, we have taken some pains with the said tenants, and have found the most part of the common sort something reasonable. As for some of the gentlemen, and Randal Hurleston, (who claimeth a lease of the Easter book, oblations, mortuaries, churchings, weddings, burials, smal tiths, as pig, goose, and such like, and that by xxiii.l. xiii.s. iii.d. les then the old rent, which hath been yearly answered heretofore by such tenants as have occupied the same, ever sithence the dissolution of the college in K. Edward's dayes; as shal appear unto your honour by the records of the court of augmentations, and by a general survey, subscribed with the hand of the right honorable Sir Walter Mildmay, Knight, one of her majesties most honorable Privy Council,) we cannot deal with them so conveniently as we desire, and therefore have thought good to refer them over, that either your honor may order them according to your wisdomes and discretions; or otherwise to let the reverend father in God, the Bishop of Chester, now warden of the said college, and the fellowes there, further deal with them as they may by law and conscience, if they shal in private conference refuse to yield unto that which is reasonable. And so humbly praying your honor, (forasmuch as the tith corn and other the smal tiths are most convenient and needful for the warden and fellowes to maintain hospitality, and relieve the poor, who are exceeding many in that town and parish,) to stand favorable to the state of that college, which, without your help, is like to become very poor: we commend you both to the Almighty, who long preserve and keep you in health and honor, your Lordships to use,

H. DERBY.

RYC. SHYRBURN.

Weegan, this xxth day of August 1581. JOHN RADECLYFF. E. FYTON."

Postscript.—We do hartlie pray your honor to have consideration of the premises, for that it in some respects doth greatly concern the state of this country."

Shortly afterwards Lord Burghley wrote to the Bishop of Chester in answer to the foregoing letter. "After my hartie commendations to your lordship, I have received your letter dated the 20th of the last month, directed to Mr Secretarie and me, which in his absence I have opened, and conferred with Mr Carter, touching some parte thereof. I find that my Lord of Derby and those gentlemen, (to whom Mr Secretarie and I have directed our letters, for the dealing with the tenants of that colledge,) have effectuellie labored with them, but small prevailed but of the small and poore sort, the better being more obstinate;

as one Randal Horlston, who, as it seemeth, hath his rent abated of the antient by L. 23, 13s. 4d. which, in mine opinion, maketh voyd the lease : and therefore I thinke it good that youre lordship use the advise of the master of the rolls nowe in this part, or of Mr Solicitor, or other of her majestie's learned counsell herein, and your lordship shall be assured to have mine assistance, for the frustratinge of any such unreasonable graunts as these are. Your lordship writeth besides, that youre lordship latelie received a letter from me, to the answeringe of one Sir Hall an annuitie of tenne pounds, with the averages thereof, notwithstanding that my writing youre lordship maie staie the payment thereof. And if the partie shall repaie to you for the same, to direct him to me for answer herein ; and, being such a man as you describe, I cannot favor him.

“ Havinge small leasure to write more at length to your lordship, I referre to the reports of Mr Carter that which, for want of time, I have delivered to him by word of mouth, to signifie to your lordship. From the court of Greenewiche, the xii. of September 1581. Your Lordship's assured loving friend,

“ *To the Right Reverend Father in God, my very
good Lord the Bishoppe of Chester.*”

W. BURGHLEY.

The result, however, of the labour of the commissioners employed regarding the leases was attended with but little satisfaction. It is stated, that, “ after the court had served themselves of these grants, whether legally made or not, they held good against the college, who were never able to recover many of them, and particularly several houses and tenements in Deansgate.”^d

But to return to the history of the Papists.—The bishop next expressed his design to settle altogether in Manchester, one view of which no doubt was, that he might the more conveniently co-operate with his brother commissioner the Earl of Derby, to whom he was personally much attached. He therefore wrote a letter to announce his intention to the Earl of Huntington, the Lord President of the North, from whom he received the following commendatory reply :—

“ SALUTEM IN CHRISTI, &c. to your good lordshippe, whom I doe hartelie thanke for the letters you sent me by this bearer, Mr Worsley. I wish Lancashire and all other counties had many such gentlemen soe well affected.—I ame

^d History of the Account of the Wardens, A. D. 1773.—It is stated by this writer that the alienated property was not retrieved till after many years and great expences in law ; and that “ the lease of Sir Edward Trafford was not yielded up till recovered by the present warden and fellows [Dr Samuel Peploe and his colleagues], with great charge and difficulty.”

glade youre Lordship liketh to live in Manchester; for as it is the best place in those parts, soe doe you well to continue and strengthen them, that they maie encrease and goe forward in the service of the Lord.—And surelie, by the grace of God, the well plaintinge of the gospell in Manchester, and the parishes nere to yt, shall, in time, effect much good in other places: Yf in Manchester there were an howre spent everie morning from six to seven, or from seven to eight, in prayer and a lecture, as *brevi oratio*, then as yt is said, *penetrare cœlos*, so shorte lessons often taught [yt] ys like no doubt but the grace of God will pearse manie hartes. The prair and lecture might beginne and ende with the clocke. The worke is soe good, and for yt that place is soe fit, as I ame bolde thus to put yow in mind of yt. God direct yow and keepe yow to himself safe.—And soe, for this time, I take leave of you. From London the vii. of December 1581. Your Lordshipp's in the Lord,

H. HUNTINGTON."

In December 1581, it was resolved to suit the convenience of the Bishop of Chester and the Earl of Derby, resident commissioners in Manchester, by removing the recusants who were in Chester to Manchester. One of the places selected for the security of the prisoners was the gaol of Salford Bridge, into which the chapel built by Thomas de Booth had been converted. Another stronghold was the fortified mansion of the Radcliffs. The site of this house had been an ancient lake, extending from the lower level of Market Street Lane to Pool-fold, and the lower level of King Street.^e "Radcliff Hall," says Mr Palmer, "was situated in the Pool-fold, in Manchester. It was formerly moated round, and a drawbridge gave admittance to the principal entrance, which faced towards Chapel Walks; and it was latterly flanked on two sides by a large garden. The mansion was constructed of timber and plaster, with huge projecting stone chimneys and gable ends, similar to Old Garrett Hall, and bore the appearance of the residence of an English gentleman of subordinate rank." Some of the rooms, therefore, belonging to this mansion were devoted to the security of the recusants.^f But a third place occupied as a prison was a building which appears to

^e In this pool was originally placed the ducking-stool of Manchester, which in a late period was removed to the pond in front of the Infirmary.

^f "Upwards of half a century ago," adds Mr. Palmer, "Radcliff Hall was occupied by Mrs Patten; and about forty years since Mr. James Smyth obtained a licence to convert a part of it into an inn, known by the denomination of the Sun Tavern, for the convenience of the new market then erected. The remaining part of it was also at the same time licensed by the name of the King's Arms. About a dozen years ago this house and the adjoining ground were pur.

have been erected for the especial purpose of providing a place of security for recusants. It was situated in Hunt's Bank, and was named the **NEW FLEET**.^s Here the greatest proportion of the prisoners was confined.

Manchester thus became the place where the popish recusants were lodged for security: and for the summary proceedings undertaken against them, as well as for the removal of the prisoners from Chester to the New Fleet in Salford, the Earl of Derby and the Bishop of Chester received the royal thanks. Further directions were also promised regarding the diet of the prisoners, and it was ordered that they should be attended by a preacher.

The warden of the New Fleet was Robert Worsley, Esq. of the Boothes, a gentleman ardently devoted to the queen.

Manchester, in thus becoming the appointed place where the popish recusants were imprisoned, became also the spot where the children of popish parents were ordered to be educated. "It is certain," says Hollingworth, "that, because Lancaster and most other parts of the county were inclined to popery, Queen Elizabeth and her councils appointed Manchester to be the place wherein to imprison such papists as they thought meet, and to train up their children in the protestant religion, either because it was the residence of the bishop, to whom some children of popish parents (as the Worthintons) were committed, or because of the real or supposed zeal for the reformed religion manifested by the gentry, ministry, and inhabitants of the town."

In the year 1582, Richard Holland, Esq. (the puritan) was high sheriff of Lancashire. Upon coming into office the queen took an early opportunity of thanking him for his diligence in proceeding against recusants, censuring at the same time the slackness and partiality of some of the justices, and desiring him to charge them forthwith to amends; and if that would not avail, to certify their names to the Earl of Derby and the Bishop of Chester, or to the council, that measures might be taken accordingly. In another letter, addressed to Mr Holland, the Queen expressed her desire that there should be a general conformity in matters of religion:—there being also an act made in the last sessions of par-

chased on a chief rent from Sir Oswald Mosley, Bart. by Mr. Thomas Robinson, who took down the old building, and on its site erected the present respectable cotton warehouses, in New Market Buildings, immediately facing the opening of Pool-fold, leading into Market Street."—See Mr Palmer's History of the Siege of Manchester.

^s It has been supposed that the New Fleet was erected in the days of Queen Mary for the security of Protestant Heretics. But this is a mistake. The prison afterwards became the house of correction and regular prison for the Hundred of Salford. The site is now in part occupied by the Castle Inn, Hunt's Bank.

liament for all recusants to be proceeded against at the quarter-sessions, and nothing having yet been done in Lancashire, the justices were charged to meet together, with the view of causing the rural deans, ministers, and church-wardens to present all such recusants upon oath at the approaching quarter-sessions ; at which sessions all the justices were to be present, to receive and send up the said informations : and in case of neglect, a return of the names of all absent justices, and others the most faulty persons, was to be sent up. Lastly, the Bishop of Chester was required to make out a new and more particular certificate of what recusants he had in his diocese.

It may now be interesting to notice the history of some of the prisoners whom the vigilance of the commissioners had secured. Elizabeth Orton, the prophetess, had, under the smart of torture, made confession of imposture, and had been ordered to publish her retraction in the parish church, where her visions had been most noised. Sir John Southworth, who had been allowed to return home, lost this indulgence, in consequence of some disaffected people making a great rout about the leniency. He was, on a certain day, ordered to return to Manchester, where, in case he still proved obstinate, he was to be again committed, with liberty only to walk abroad at certain times with his keeper, in order to take the air for the benefit of his health, and then not to confer with any one. Upon the appointed day Sir John Southworth duly made his appearance ; and, as he did not retract, he was condemned to imprisonment in the New Fleet of Manchester. John Townley, Esq., who had been transferred from Chester Castle to the new prison, was allowed his liberation on account " of his quiet behaviour in the Fleet." James Bell, a priest and native of Warrington, was imprisoned for affirming that the pope had jurisdiction in the kingdom of England, and that he was the lawful head of the catholic church. Mr Hollingworth has described, from Campian, the usage which this priest experienced during the time he was imprisoned in Manchester. " Sometimes," says the jesuit, " it was in an obscure and horrid lake ; [' he means, for ought I can learn,' remarks Hollingworth, ' a gentleman's house in or near the Market Street Lane, called Mr Radcliff's of the Poole ;'] sometimes in another place called the New Fleete, of which one Worsley of the Boother was governor or keeper."—Another priest, of the name of John Baxter, was committed.—Lady Egerton of Ridley was likewise a prisoner.—John Finch, born at Eccleston in Lancashire, was indicted upon two articles, namely, for being reconciled to the church of Rome, (he had been educated a protestant), and for denying the queen's supremacy. Dodd (in his Church History) relates, that, when Finch was apprehended and brought before

the Earl of Derby, he was questioned concerning the Queen's supremacy. He answered, that in spiritual matters he acknowledged no authority that she claimed over him. The Earl, provoked not less with the manner than with the substance of the reply, gave him a box on the ear, and ordered him to the new prison.—Donna Alana, born in Lancashire, widow of the brother of Cardinal Allen,^a was an imprisoned recusant. By Sir Edmund Trafford of Trafford she is said "to have been troubled very much." Lastly, James Leybourne, Esq. (a noble layman, as Campian designates him), was charged with uttering "lewd speeches," totally unpardonable. He was accused of denying the female papacy of Queen Elizabeth, and contending that obedience was not due to her, inasmuch as she had been unlawfully begotten, and had been lawfully deposed by the Pope from her pretended right. In a state document addressed to the Earl of Derby and the Bishop of Chester, Leybourne is mentioned after the following manner :—

"After oure right hartie comendations to youre good lordships, we have acquaynted the Queen's majestie with youre lordships' late travell and paynes taken, in the ordering and examining of James Laiborne; whereof her majestie (as of the rest of youre lordships' carefull proceedings heretofore in her majestie's late services), doth verie graciouslye accepte: holding you therefore in suche degree of her favor as your endevoours therein doe justlie meryte, and hath willed us to signifie unto your lordships her righte hartie thanks.

"And touching the said Laiborne, we have geven order to her majestie's most learned counsell to consider how farre the lawe will reache unto him, for his lewde and sedycious speeches, uttred against her majestie and the state of government; upon whose opynion signified, there shal be further dyrection geven for the proceeding with hym.

"Acordinglie, praying youre lordshipps, that, as the insolence and disobedience of him and others in those parts dothe seeme muche to increase (which requyrethe a dyligent care and eye to be had to there doings and disorders), so your lordships, according to the good measure by you helde in the like cases hitherto, will contynue your care and endeavour for the meeting with and suppressing of their insolence and disobedience, as you shall see the same growe hereafter; wherein your lordships, with the service youe shall thereby doe to Almighty God, shall lykewise deserve of her majestie and your countrey favour, love, and

^a He was created Cardinal, 28th July 1587. He died at Rome, and was buried in the church belonging to the English.

comfort ; and shall fynde her majestie and us readie, not onely to countenance and assist yow in your said services, as farre forthe as the necessitie of them shall requyre, but also to acknowledge your lordship's deservings upon any good occasion, to be offred to your comforte and satisfaction.

“ And soe we byd your good lordships right and hartlie farwell. From the courte at Richmonde, the xviii. of January 1582. Your lordships' assured loving friends,

“ W. BURGHLEY, FR. KNOLLYS, CHR. HATTON, E. LYNCOLNE,

“ JAMES CROFTIE, FR. WALSINGHAM, A. WARWICKE.

“ *To the Earle of Derby and Bp. of Chester.*”

But active as the commissioners were in their zeal against the Catholics, they by no means exceeded the instructions of their court. The New Fleet of Manchester was so crowded with prisoners, that it became a question from what pecuniary source the maintenance of the recusants was to be much longer supported. Mr Worsley's bill was to be discharged for the lodging and diet of the prisoners, which bill, on the 30th of June 1582, amounted to L. 252. It was therefore ordered by government, on the petition of Mr Worsley, the warden of the New Fleet, “ That all the past and future diet, and other charges of the priests and other poor prisoners there, shall be paid out of the monthly forfeitures levied on recusants in the diocese of Chester ; that the collection of viiid. a-week in every parish, allowed by the statute of the 14 Eliz. for the relief of other poor prisoners, should also be converted to this use ; and that letters be written to the Earl of Derby, the Lord Bishop of Chester, and all other the justices of peace in Cheshire and Lancashire, to give orders for that collection to be made out of hand.”

Another source for defraying the expences of the prison was from the monthly fines due from the more wealthy recusants as long as they persisted in their alleged errors, and abstained from attending the established church. These fines were most rigorously exacted. Sir Edmund Trafford, the sheriff, was ordered to levy from Mr Leybourne the sum of one hundred marks. But the commissioners were involved in this difficulty, that in the smaller parishes of Lancashire the eightpence per week was with the greatest difficulty collected, it being considered a grievance that great and small parishes should be taxed alike. In Cheshire the tax was resisted altogether as an unconstitutional demand. It was found necessary, therefore, in order to save charges, to discharge several recusants upon their own bonds ; this act of grace including “ the most inoffensive poor recusants, as women, and such like.” But the tax upon each parish, though it yielded far short

of what was expected, seems to have materially aided in relieving the commissioners from their difficulties. In fact, Mr Worsley was so well pleased with the proceeds, and at the same time so anxious to retain the functions he possessed of warden of the New Fleet, that he began to make provisions for perpetuating in himself the office, so that it should even outlive the cause for which he had been first elected, namely, the suppression of papacy. He proposed, that, if he might have "one year's collection from each parish in Lancashire before-hand to serve for a stock, he would erect a correction-house to receive and set to work such rogues, vagabonds, and idle persons as might be found in that shire." The offer met with a favourable ear from government, the answer from the lords in council, addressed to the Earl of Derby, the Bishop of Chester, and the justices of Lancashire, being as follows:—"Forasmuch as by lawe everie shire is bounde to establish suche a house upon a greate penaltie, if the same be not within a tyme performed; and as we are of opinion that yt wil be a good bargayne for the shire, if, for so small a matter as such a collection is, they maie be free from that charge and penaltie: We have thought good to recommend the matter unto youre lordshipps, and prairie you, if you shall see no cause to mislike of the same, so to deale with the justices and gentlemen in the shire towards so good and charitable a worke, that they wold be contented to cause such a collection to be, wherein we are of opinion, they will make no difficultie." But, notwithstanding this offer, the eightpence per week from each parish was still slowly collected. To induce, therefore, the good people of Cheshire to fall in with the offer, by which Mr Worsley would be the permanent gaoler for the whole diocese, he offered to erect *two*,—nay even *three* workhouses for rogues and vagabonds, on condition that, to answer present exigencies, he might have a year's subscription before-hand, and that the assessment might be continued agreeably to the laws of the realm. The result of this offer was, as we might expect, unsuccessful, the assessment being still very unpopular. The lords in council, in the next place, wrote to the Earl of Derby and the Bishop of Chester, requiring them "to take bonds of all such constables and other officers in the diocese of Chester as neglected to gather and pay in the several collections of viiid. a-week, in order to their appearing before the council."

The parish tax being thus resisted, government next looked to the fines imposed upon the wealthy recusants as the source whence the New Fleet of Manchester could be supported. In this state of anxiety the lords in council readily gave ear to the charge alleged against the Bishop of Chester by Randall Hurleston, a disappointed lessee of the collegiate lands, that his lordship had received no less a sum than three thousand pounds for fines, which sum he had clandes-

tinely withheld. The bishop affirmed that this was "a most slanderous and shameful lie," and that his accuser was "a malicious varlet." It was long, however, before he could remove the imputation of having embezzled the public money. Indeed, it is not certain but that the council inflicted upon him some punishment. Campian affirms, that about this time Sir Edmund Trafford had the promise of a grant of the chancellorship of St Paul's London, which not falling void, as was expected, he was offered, and did accept of the wardenship of Manchester College, and had it by patent.¹ But this is a doubtful assertion.

On the 6th of July 1588, it appears, that, owing to many of the recusants who were poor having been discharged, the number of prisoners in the New Fleet of Manchester did not amount to more than sixteen, yet for the support of these few Mr Worsley claimed a sum amounting to no less than L. 650. In this embarrassment the queen's council wrote to the Earl of Derby and the Bishop of Chester, that, "in consequence of the fines falling short, (though they had been informed they were very large,) and the collections of viiid. a-week on every parish being also impugned, as contrary to the statute, they had sent Mr Worsley back again to them to be paid out of those fines, and a year's contribution offered by the justices of Lancashire, (hoping they of Cheshire would do the like,) the said Mr Worsley's bill to be first abated; and if the money still fell short, the commissioners were to devise how to raise more. Meanwhile they had taken order with Mr Worsley about lessening the expence of those prisoners who were not able to pay their own charges." And again, in another letter of the same date, it was signified "that some few justices of the peace, both of Lancaster and Cheshire, had been with, and declared to them, that they found the inhabitants in divers places murmured at the collection of viiid. a-week on each parish for erecting workhouses, the same being, as they thought, against law, and also (great and small parishes being all taxed alike,) unequally ordered; at which complaint (as they heard nothing of the like sort from them,) they were greatly surprised, and the more, as many other justices had wrote to them to pray a continuance, and acknowledged the advantage of it. Yet they were willing to suspend the gathering of it till they heard farther from their lordships."

After the lapse of a few months, during which time an investigation had taken place of the mode in which the fines had been distributed, the Bishop of Chester was honourably freed from the crime imputed to him; and if he really did lose the wardenship, of which there is considerable doubt, the office must have been again restored to him. He received a letter from the queen's council, in which it was

¹ Hollingworth's *Mancuniensis*.

stated, that they were anxious to remove an impression, occasioned by their former letters, that the fines had amounted to so large a sum as they supposed, and that such fines had been misapplied; but that they were now satisfied that the report raised against his lordship was false, and that they would punish the calumniator. The bishop was also assured that neither the queen nor her council would for the future credit any reports to the disadvantage of the commissioners. Again, in a letter addressed to the Earl of Derby and the Bishop of Chester conjointly, the thanks of the Queen were expressed for their past conduct, accompanied with a request to persevere in the same line of conduct. Soon after the Earl of Derby wrote to the bishop, towards whom, during the time his colleague was in disgrace, some shyness had occurred, congratulating him upon regaining the council's good opinion. Mr Worsley's bill of charges was then ordered to be paid out of the amount of the fines that had been levied, and the tax upon each parish in the diocese of Chester of eightpence a-week to be strictly enforced.

But we may now inquire into the state of the prisoners while these transactions were going on. After Lady Egerton of Ridley had been confined, a letter from the Lord Chancellor was received by the commissioners, signifying much sorrow for her obstinacy, and requesting them to deal gently with her, by appointing preachers to hold with her a conference. Soon after this letter Mr Worsley made a complaint to government, that "there was not as yet any learned preacher provided for that place, to preache and conferre with suche as were comytted thither, for not conforminge themselves in matters of religion, according to her majesties lawes." Upon which complaint a letter in return was received from the queen's council, addressed to the Bishop of Chester, stating, that, "forasmuch as it is not unlike but that some good would thereby ensue, and it is a very Christian and charitable parte to seeke to reduce them to the trewe knowledge of God by all convenyent meanes, we have thought good to put youre lordship in remembrance thereof, and to praise you for the better discharge of oure and your dutie towards God and them, to take some order how amonge the clergie of that diocesse or otherwise, some meete stipende may be had for the fynding of some suche person as by his learning and discretion youre lordship shall think meete to appoynt, to be contynuallie attendinge upon that charge." After this order the labours of the ministers to induce the recusants to conform were unremitting. "Dr Chaderton" says Dodd, "gave orders to the clergy of Manchester to read prayers in the apartments where the prisoners were lodged, especially at meal times. The more scrupulous chose rather to be deprived of their victuals than endanger the health of their souls by taking in a nourishment,

as they conjectured, to poison their better part." The exertions of Oliver Carter, one of the fellows of the church, to reclaim the recusants, were a subject of great complaint made by Bell the priest. "He complained," according to Campian, "of Edmund Trafford of Trafford as a most bitter enemy of the Catholics; of Ashton of Chatherton as a zealous heretick; of Holland of Denton as a rigid puritan; of the bishop as a calvinist, a false and cruel bishop; of the inhabitants, and especially of the minister, by name Oliver Carter, as one that boasted much of his learning, and sought after and laboured much to win em."—"But Sir John Southworth," says Mr Worsley, "refused to be present at thanksgiving unto God before and after meales, and at the reading of chapters out of the Oulde and New Testament;" for which reason, he was cruelly abridged the liberty he had possessed of walking with his keeper for the convenience of his health in Alport Park and the college garden, and of conferring with persons upon his private affairs. Through the remonstrance, however, of his son this privilege was restored to him, on promise of amendment; and at the same time inquiry was made into an overcharge complained of against Mr Worsley for the knight's diet and lodging. This was afterwards redressed. Regarding Lady Egerton of Ridley some hopes were entertained, that, through the labours of the clergy, she would conform to the English church. Mr Finch appears to have been inflexible, and for this stubbornness was most cruelly used. "He distinguished himself," says Dodd, "above the rest of his fellow-prisoners. The clergy of Manchester were therefore very strenuous in urging him to a still further compliance; but, neither arguments nor threats availing, he is reported to have been dragged by compulsion to the church, and to have been much bruised by this rude treatment." It is added, however, that the imprisoned recusants at last relaxed in their zeal, and agreed that there was no harm in being present at such prayers, provided they were not performed in the church, or any other place designed for public worship.

But the persecution thus going on against the papists was fast drawing towards a crisis. It was declared by government, that, as the obstinacy of the recusants of rank or authority prevented the lower sort from conforming, it was incumbent that they should be the first to appear at the assizes and be punished. On the 22d of March 1584, an order arrived from the Queen's council, addressed to the commissioners, stating, that, there being several popish priests now prisoners at Manchester for preventing the Queen's subjects from their allegiance, it was thought good they should be tried for the same, *in terrorem*, at the next assizes; and that lay gentlemen, recusants, their prisoners, should be made to pay Mr Worsley for their diet, or fare worse, like mean prisoners. An exception was, however,

made in favour of Mr Townley, who, through the intercession of his brother-in-law, Mr Alexander Nowel, dean of St Paul's, was allowed to repair to London, for the purpose, while there, of taking advice from physicians relative to the state of his health. On the 20th of April 1584, James Bell and John Finch suffered at Lancaster. James Leybourne is affirmed by Campian to have meekly and willingly shed his blood in Manchester.¹ The heads of these three unfortunate victims were afterwards placed upon the steeple of the collegiate church.²

After these sacrifices had been made to the persecuting spirit which governed the times, fanaticism appeared rather more satisfied, and the town of Manchester was in the process of being restored to a comparative state of tranquillity. Some few arrests, however, still continued to take place. Mr Bartholomew Heaketh's wife, complained of as "doing much hurt in being at liberty to go where she would among recusants and such persons," was apprehended. About this time Sir John Southworth was charged with having a design to disinherit his eldest son, "only because the young gentleman was not ill affected like the father, but well given in religion." The commissioners were therefore directed to stay the purpose, and thus preserve the inheritance for the right heir. Disputes also continuing to ensue between Sir John and Mr Worsley, the former was ordered to repair to London along with Mr Townley. The commissioners, however, apologized for not fulfilling the command, on the plea, that, as the prisoners, agreeably to a recent statute, had paid their fines, they could not any longer stand justly committed.

But another striking feature of this period may now be noticed. It is certain that many of the leading characters at the head of state affairs were far from being disinclined to the new sect of puritans. Grindall, the primate, declined obeying the Queen's orders for the suppression of prophesyings, or the assemblies of the zealots in private houses. These, as Hume has properly observed, were so many academies of fanaticism. Even the members who composed the Royal council were not very hostile to moderate religious exercises; and if the Queen yielded to them,

¹ According to tradition, the place of execution was at Knot Mill.

² Campian, the jesuit, after his committal to the Tower of London, was submitted to the rack, and, while writhing under the torture, confessed by whom he had been entertained in Lancashire. The rack failing to produce conversion, several dignitaries of the Church of England, among whom were Dr Nowel, dean of St Paul's, and Dr Day, dean of Windsor, severally held public disputations with him in the tower. Each party, as may be anticipated, claimed the victory. He was soon after brought to trial, on a charge of conspiring with others beyond the seas to depose and murder her majesty, the Queen of England, and being pronounced guilty, was executed at Tyburn.

it was on this account only, that, averse as she was to puritanism, she disliked popery far more, and that, though religious exercises favoured the former, they were the greatest antidotes to the latter. Her majesty was for this reason disposed to give countenance to these exercises. In a letter, (April 2d, 1584,) addressed to the Bishop of Chester, the Queen's council wrote as follows:—

“ After our very hartie commendations.

“ Whereas (partly uppon our owne knowledge and otherwise, by the good commendation which hath been made unto us, of your zealous care to further the good proceedings and course of religion within your lordship's diocese,) wee have bene made acquainted that the clergie of Chestshire and Lancashire have heretofore used an ecclesiasticall exercise in some fewe places of those countries, and that onely thrise in the whole yeare! Forasmuche as the good proceedinge or slackness in religion is a matter of no small consequence, especially in those remote parts of the realme, (standing daungerously for the enemye, and where the Gospel as yet hath not been thoroughly planted,) we have thought good, for increase of knowledge, and zeal in the common people, as likewise for establishinge of a learned minister in that countrie, to recommede unto your lordship's good consideration some further enlargement of the said ecclesiasticall exercises, that order may be taken by you, uppon conference had with the best learned of the clergie in those countries, to have the said exercises of religion hereafter more frequently used, and in more places of the diocese, as may seeme most convenient for furtherance hereof in all respects.

“ So nothing doubtinge of youre zealous forwardnes herein we bid your lordship right hartelie farewell. From the courte, this second of Aprill, 1584, your lordship's lovinge frends,

“ T. BROMLEY,	canc. R. LEYCESTER.	F. KNOLLYS.
“ E. LINCOLN.	F. BEDFORD.	F. WALSINGHAM.
“ A. WARWICK.	C. HOWARD.	

“ *To our very good lord the Lord Bishop of Chester.*”

These ecclesiastical exercises, as it has been observed, were most important to the growth of puritanism in the country. In Manchester they were highly encouraged by the Bishop of Chester, while they also found a most zealous promoter of them in the person of Mr Bourne, whom the warden, in unison with his own feelings, and with those of several of his congregation, had invited to be a member of the Collegiate Church. Mr Bourne in his clerical character has been mi-

nutely described by Hollingworth. "He was a native of Staffordshire, of St John's College, Cambridge, where he took the degree of B. D., and was sent to Manchester by Dr Chaderton and Dr Whitaker, at the request of the parishioners, who desired that Mr Perkins, or some other learned and pious minister, might be sent thither. He was learned in the tongues, sound and orthodox in his judgment, zealous against every error, especially against popery. Seldom or never did he ascend the pulpit but he struck at some popish doctrine before he came down. He dissented little or nothing from the discipline used in Scotland, but vehemently propagated it, yet in a prudent and peaceable way, save that he held the feasts of the nativity of Christ, of his circumcision, and other holy days might lawfully, yea ought (the lawes of the realme considered) to be duly kept. He was much in ordinary and extraordinary duties of piety, prayer, fasting, thanksgiving, both in his own house and elsewhere. He usually (if not every night) did pray and sing psalms also in his bed when he awaked, when he might be without disturbance of those that lay in the chamber with him. His opinion and suitable [conduct] thereunto was the practice of his family, that the Lord's day began at sunset on Saturday. He was a frequent preacher. The first he was that in a constant course set up sermons on the Lord's day in the afternoon, or on Monday morning. His preaching was plain, yet profitable to the conversion and edification of many soules, and the reformation of the towne from severall abuses, as profanation of the sabbath. He seldom varied the words of his prayer before sermon, and as seldom the method of his preaching, which, after explication of his text, was doctrine proove of it by Scripture, by reason answering more or more objections, and then the uses, *first*, of information; *secondly*, of confutation of popery in this or that; *thirdly*, of reprehension; *fourthly*, of examination; *fifthly*, of exhortation; and *lastly*, of consolation. "His credit and esteem amongst the people hereabouts was such, that *ipse dixit*, he saith it, was sufficient. He was a prudent manager of his worldly affairs, of a comely and reverend countenance, quick in spirit and peace."—Hollingworth also states, that, "Oliver Carter, one of the fellows nominated on the foundation of Elizabeth, being indisposed in the pulpit while preaching on the goodness of God in providing a succession of godly ministers, "Mr W. Bourne went up immediately into the pulpit, and (God assisting him,) preached on the same text; a visible and present proof," he adds, "of Mr Carter's doctrine."

Such was the enthusiastic character of Mr Bourne. It is no wonder, therefore, that under the influence of such a minister the people of Manchester should be fast inclining towards puritanical forms and doctrines.

The events recorded for some years after the execution of the popish martyrs are of trifling moment.¹ It may be remarked that the laws against Róman Catholics were even becoming more severe ; for by a later statute, popish priests found in England three days without conforming and taking the oaths, were guilty of high treason, and all persons harbouring them were guilty of felony, without the benefit of clergy. But in proportion as these laws were becoming more sanguinary, the people at large, and even the ecclesiastical commissioners themselves, were growing lukewarm on the subject of religious prosecutions. The consequence was, that the queen's council, which was still vindictive, gave directions that all justices of peace in the diocese of Chester should be included in the ecclesiastical commission, and that in each separate hundred subordinate tribunals should sit. This measure produced the following remonstrance from the Lord Strange, the Bishop of Chester, and others.²

“ To the Right Honourable our very good frende Sir Francis Walsingham, Knight, principale secretarie to the Queen's most excellent Majestie, and one of her Majestie's most honourable pryvie councill at the Courte,—

“ Our humbel dutie remembered, we have passed such instructions as were latelie sent downe by Mr Fleetewood for the dyrection of the exercyse of the ecclesiasticall commission within the diocese of Chester, which, although at the first they seem to carry some outward shewe of our ease, and of the credit of our service, yet in truth we find by good experience, that if we should followe that course which they dyrecte, it would be very inconvenient and dangerous.

¹ “ Anno 1585. The English Benedictins beyond the seas,” says Hollingworth, “ began to be stir themselves for continuation of their order ; Abbot Fecknam being dead, and there being but one left, Father Sigbert Buckley ; therefore, before his death, provision was made of theirs to succede ; nine were chosen, five in Valladolid in Spaine, and four in Rome, of which four Anselme of Manchester was one.”

“ Anno 1586. There was a great dearth in this country, insomuch that in Manchester a penny white loaf weighed but six or eight ounces, one penny bolted bread ten or eleven ounces, rye-bread nine or ten ounces, brown bread about fourteen ounces. And the Bishop of Chester and others, pitying the condition of the poor, ordered that the penny white should weigh nine ounces of troy weight, bolted bread ten, brown bread fifteen, jannocke thirteen, oat cake fifteen ounces, so that every baker have their mark, according to this statute,—that their bread be wholesome and well-baked, and that they sell but only twelve to the dozen ; that no loaves be made but either of a penny, ijd. or ivd. at furthest. That these orders be duly observed both by inhabitants and foreigners.”—Hollingworth.

² From a document still preserved. Cotton, MSS. Vespasian, C. 14, fo. 526.

“ First, That a great number of commissioners being of the quorum, and dyvers of those being but of meane calling in their severall divissions, it would breede a tumultuous kinde of governmente, or rather an anarchye, everie one thinking himself as noble, and to have as great interest and authoritye in that acon as another.

“ Secondarilye, It is very certaine that the gentlemen and common people wold lightlie regarde (if not crosse) the saide inferior commissions in their proceedings, as being otherwise equals, or not greatlie inferior to those of the quorum, (for it is not lyke when our very goode lord the Earle of Derby assisted with us, and dyvers others of the better sorte of the commissioners could not have such appearance, and other service of the countrey as did appertaine to those causes,) althoughe speciall summons was given to all the subjects within every severall division, that a few of the meaner sorte should be better attended with more diligence.

“ Thirdly, We are well assured, knowing the nature of our countrey men, and howe they are otherwise charged with musters, quarter-sessions, assizes, and other daylie meetings, that they will be greatlie offended with so many sessions in such sundrie places of everie countie of this dyocese, by reason of the greate trouble and charges that will ensue thereof, that even, at the first, they will fall into a contempte and lothsomeness of those persons and proceedings; so as the whole acon will become ridiculous and scornfull, being executed by such meane persons, and in such a strange manner, which may perhapps breede some mutynie, or generate dislyke in the hartes of the people.

“ Fourthly, It is very lyke that those who have raised up any slanderous reports against the execution of the last commission, wherein those of the quorum were of the greatest callinge, and in nowise justlie to be charged, will not spare the inferior sorte, deale they never so circumspectlie; and withall it is to be doubted that these inferiors will rather yealde to fear and favour, and otherwise easilie bee drawn from due course of their dutie in this acon.

“ Fifthlie, Although in some one hundred or other there maye be founde a competent number of preachers, and other well-affected gentlemen, to be employed in this servyce, yet in dyvers other hundreds there is such wants, that no such supple can be made of such persons as is required by the instructions.

“ Last of all, If these dyrections be observed and put in execution, it can not but greatlie touch our very good lord the Earle of Darbie in honour, and some of us in credytte, who have a long tyme bestowed greate paynes and charges in that service; for that suche a change and translation being made, it will be thoughte

that eithir some greate oversight or negligence was comitted in the former commission.

“ Wherefore, the premisses considered, it maie please your honour to procure us an ecclesiastical commission for the dyocese of Chester (which we take to be very needful), that the same may be executed ; and that in sondrie principall parts of the dyocese, for the ease of the subjects, with such grace and libertie as it was before, we will not onelie not spare for any pains or charges to effect the leest good we can for the furtherance of religion and reformation of all ecclesiastical faults and enormities, (which be greate and many in this dyocesse), but also so order and dispose her majestie’s authoritie in those cases, as we shall be readie to answere our doings whenever they shall be called in question. Notwithstandinge, if your honour be otherwise resolved that the instructions shall be followed, we have corrected them in some points, and sent them enclosed, referring ourselves to be ordered by your wisdom in all those accions. And so for this tyme, expecting your answere, we committe you to God. Alford, this xxijth of May 1588. —Your honors’ very lovinge and affectionate friends,

“ FER. STRANGE, W. CESTREN, JOHN STRANGE, JOHN BYRON,
ED. TRAFFORDE, RYC. SHYRBURN, JOHN ATHARTON,
HUGH CHOLMEDELY.”

It does not appear that this remonstrance met with great attention from government ; the consequence of which was, that the Bishop of Chester, the Earl of Derby, and other leading personages in Lancashire and Cheshire, gradually retired from the duties of their unwelcome office, leaving the inquisition to the entire management of the justices of the peace in their respective districts.

But although the popular zeal against the Catholics had been considerably mitigated, alarms were occasionally propagated on the subject of popish plots and insurrections. These were increased by the prospect of a Spanish invasion, to oppose which Manchester had raised a quota of men, consisting of 38 harquebussiers, 38 archers, and 144 billmen and pikemen. “ In the year 1588,” says Hollingworth, “ there was a panic fear upon the lord bishop, then warden, viz. Dr Chaderton, and other inhabitants of the towne, that they caused the flesh-shambles to be removed to Salford Bridge, and betook themselves to such arms as they had, upon some lying report (if there was so much as a report) that a potent army was within a few miles of the town, viz. upon Swinton Moor. Sometimes the wisdom of the wisest men is but stark false, there being then little probability either that there was any

such army so neare, except possibly of the Lancashire papists, or that such an army could by these means be resisted."

But we now draw near to another important period.

The time had at length arrived when the puritans, particularly by their inflammatory writings, were becoming no less formidable to government than the Roman Catholics. Some years ago the commissioners had been directed by the queen's council to suppress "a most vile book," Leicester's Commonwealth, written against the Earl of Leicester and the queen. Penry, a puritan, or rather a Brownist, conducted an itinerary printing-press of some celebrity, which, being industriously concealed for several years, had contrived to publish several works, which were considered treasonable. Of these were Martin Marprelate, Theses Martinianæ, and others. "In the course of printing the work 'Ha ye any more Work for the Cooper?'" says Ames, "the press was discovered and seized at Manchester, in Newton Lane, with several pamphlets unfinished. Among others, Paradoxes, Dialogues, Martin's Dream, the Lives and Doings of hellish Popes, Itinerarium or Visitations, and Lambethisms." To complete the Itinerarium the author threatened to survey all the clergy of England, and note their intolerable pranks; and for his Lambethisms he would have a Martin Marprelate at Lambeth. For these libels he was tried and executed.^a

During three or four years after this event nothing remarkable occurs in the annals of the Collegiate Church, or indeed of Manchester.^o

^a The following from *Strype's Annals* is an extract from the examination of divers persons about the printing-press of Martin Marprelate, and the books so printed:—

"Feb. 15, 1588.

"Hodgkins, and Symms and Tomlyn Hodgkins's men confess, that, beginning to print the book called More Work for the Cooper, in Newton Lane, near Manchester, they had printed thereof about six a-quire on one side before they were apprehended. They also deposed, that Hodgkins told them the next book, or the next but one, which they had to print, should be in Latin, (which perhaps was *Disciplina Sacra*); and that there was another parcel of More Work, &c. which should serve them to print another time, for this was but the first part of the said book, and the other part was almost as big again."

It was also imputed to Penry by the Lord Keeper Puckering, that "in some of these papers he had only acknowledged her majesty's royal power to establish laws, ecclesiastical and civil, but had avoided the usual terms of making, enacting, decreeing, and ordaining laws, which imply" (says the lord keeper) "a most absolute authority." It is added, that, "as the statute against seditious words required that the criminal should be tried within a year after committing the offence, Penry could not be indicted for his printed books. He was therefore tried and condemned for some papers found in his pocket, as if he had thereby scattered sedition."

^o Hollingworth states, that in the year 1588 "there died of the parishioners in one month,

It may now be observed, that the inefficiency, anticipated by the Bishop of Chester and his fellow commissioners, of the new regulations adopted in the ecclesiastical commission, whereby the power was vested in a number of justices of peace, became completely realized, as the following very curious official manifesto, addressed by the queen's council to the legislature, sufficiently shows :—

“ The county of Lancashire is mightily infected with popery, the number of justices of the peace within that countie being but few that take any care in the reformation thereof.

“ The wives, children, and servants of some justices of the peace of that countie being also chiefe officers there, are notable recusants, and many of them stand indicted at Lancaster upon the statute.

“ There are that stand indicted upon the statute of recusants eight hundred persons at the least within that countie, whereof many of them are persons of good lyvehood in that countie.

“ Few or no recusants within that countie receive triall upon indictments, and it is verie likely never shall, for that the better sort of recusants there are so linked into kindred, and find so great favor at the hand of hir majesty's officers, to whome those cawses in respect of their places doe belong, that the better persons are passed over with silence, and the poor sort only drawn to question, so that the example to the countie is nothing that ensueth thereupon.

“ Of all the recusants that there doe stand indicted, such favor, what for kindred, friendship, and other wise, is showed, that not above four persons, for the most parte, are tried uppon indictments uppon the statute of recusants at one assises, whereas if the officers there would do their duties, twentie persons may verie well receive their triall there in that tyme.

(April) seventy persons.”—“ Anno 1589, Robert Asmall of Gorton was killed with a bull at a stake.”

Mr Aston (in his *Manchester Guide*, p. 29) has given a curious illustration of the domestic manners of the year 1588, in an inventory of the effects of a widow of Salford. But the document is far too long to have a place here entire. Some few items may be mentioned. The widows' clothes consisted of a trained gown lined with chamlett, a capock, frieze gowns, a worsted kertle with branched damask body and sleeves, a russet taffity kertle and aprons, silk hats, a tammy mantle, a golden girdle, partlets, smocks, cross clothes, and mufflers. The clothes of the widow's late husband comprised “ a myllam fustian dublytt, Oylpoyld sleeves, breeches, and a pair of moulds,” a frieze jerkin, two seal-skin girdles, two pair of round hose, a cloak, a felt hat and band, and a dagger. The deceased had been a manufacturer of friezes.

“ In 1592,” says Hollingworth, “ died Richard, son of Robert Birch, being fourscore years younger than his father.”

“ The negligence, bolstering, and lack of duty in officers there incourage the recusants in that countrie, so that they make small regarde of that lawe and of the well-disposed justices of the peace that seek the reformation of that countrie.

“ If some care be not had, and some one or more persons appointed that may be countenanced to prosecute for hir majestie at the assises at Lancaster against recusants, it litle availeth to indict anie more recusants, or to hope that any reformation at all will be had in that country in that behalf.

“ Her majestie will receive small profit in that countie uppon that statute. The people cannot become conformable to God and hir majestie's lawes that dwell within the same, nor religion (truely published) ymbrased, unlesse your house deeply weigh the miserable estate of that countrie, and by your honorable wisdom direct a godly course, whereby that people may be reduced to know their duties to God and hir majestie.

“ The estate of that countie of Chester is much like to that of Lancashire, but not sore wounded with popery as is Lancashire. A direction for the one will serve both the counties.

“ There is one thing chiefly to be respected, and much speed to be redressed, that those recusants which lie in the castell of Chester, uppon executions for great somes of money forfeited to hir majestie uppon that statute, may not have libertie to go and ryde abroad at their pleasures, as they now have, and not anie offence taken thereat at all, so that their imprisonment is to them libertie, where they should be detayned untill the forfeitures were paid to hir majestie.

“ The keeper of the castell, or the constable of the same at Chester, for profit neglecteth his dutie in this behalf.

“ It hath been of late vehemently suspected that massing priests and such like resort at their pleasures to the recusants in the castell of Chester, [and] there is no restraint made of anie pson at all by the keeper there.

“ By the statute of xxij^d. of hir majestie, recusants doe forfeite monthly xx^{li}. whereof one-third part is to hir majestie, another third part to the poore of the parish where such recusants abideth, and the last third parte to him that will sue for the same.

“ And by the statute of xxix^o. of hir majestie, all the said forfeitures of xx^{li}. a-month accrewe to hir majestie wholly by the seisure of two partes of the lands and goods to hir highness's use, leaving the third parte only of such lands and goods to the recusants for the maintenance of himself, his wife, and children.

“ So that no profit being left to anie person that shall travill in the premisses, it now behoveth that one or more persons be provided to prosecute for her ma-

jestie, els can no benefitt at all, or but small, come to her majestie ; and so consequently that law is of small regard, papists remayne unpunished, and the well-disposed subject grieved to see the sutes of wholesome lawes growe to nothing.”^p

Owing to representations such as these, in the 35th of Elizabeth was passed a still more severe law against recusants ; “ such a law,” says Mr Hume, “ as was suited to the severe character of the queen, and to the persecuting spirit of the age. It was entitled AN ACT TO RETAIN HER MAJESTY’S SUBJECTS IN THEIR DUE OBEDIENCE, and was meant, as the preamble declares, to obviate such inconveniences and perils as might grow from the wicked practices of seditious sectaries and disloyal persons ; for these two species of criminals were always at that time confounded together, as equally dangerous to the peace of society. It was enacted, that any person above sixteen years of age who obstinately refused, during the space of a month, to attend public worship, should be committed to prison ; that if, after being condemned for this offence, he persist three months in his refusal, he must abjure the realm ; and that, if he either refuse this condition, or return after banishment, he should suffer capitally as a felon, without benefit of clergy. This law bore equally hard upon the puritans and upon the catholics.”^q

In the year 1593 Henry Earl of Derby, the great friend of Dr Chaderton, died. The Bishop of Chester, who was a true courtier, then sought only a continuation of the patronage vested in the successor of this noble house. Sir John

^p See Cotton, MS. Titus, b. iii. fol. 58.

^q This act is stated after the following manner in common Law Dictionaries :—“ Persons professing the popish religion, for not frequenting their parish church, were disabled from taking their lands, either by descent or purchase, after eighteen years of age, until they renounced their errors.—They were required at the age of twenty-one to register their estates, and all future conveyances and wills relating to them. They were incapable of presenting to any advowson, or keep or teach any school, under pain of perpetual imprisonment : and if they willingly said or heard mass they forfeited for the first offence 100, and for the second 200 marks, and suffered a year’s imprisonment for each offence. If any person sent another abroad to be educated in the popish religion, or to reside in any religious house abroad for that purpose, or contributed to his or her maintenance, both the sender, the sent, and the contributor, were disabled to sue in law or equity, their goods and chattels and all their real estates being forfeited. If any person was reconciled to the Catholic religion, or had procured others to be reconciled, the offence amounted to high treason. Popish recusants were again considered as persons excommunicated. They could hold no office or employment ; keep no arms in their houses, but the same might be seized by the justices of the peace ; nor could they come within ten miles of London, nor travel five miles from home, unless by licence ; nor come to court, on pain of L.100.”

Harrington relates, that in the funeral sermon which he preached on the occasion at Ormskirk, "having spoken largely in praise of the deceased, he addressed himself to Ferdinando, who had succeeded to the title. 'You,' said he, 'noble Earl, that not only inherit, but exceed your father's virtues, learn to keep the love of your country as your father did. You give in your arms three legs, signifying three shires, Cheshire, Derbyshire, and Lancashire. Stand fast on these three legs, and you shall need fear *none of their arms*.' At which the earl, somewhat moved, said with some warmth, and sinfully sealed it with an oath, 'This priest, I believe, hopes one day to make me three courtesies.' "

About this time the bishop, who, as warden of the Collegiate Church, had lived a considerable time in Manchester, and is reported to have preached and baptized more than other bishops of his time, removed his residence to Chester. The cause is stated to have been the frequent quarrels between his domestics and the inhabitants of the town, occasioned by the pride and unbending stiffness of one or both of the parties.*

May 24, 1595, Dr Chaderton was translated from the see of Chester to that of Lincoln, and resigned the wardenship of Manchester.†

Some obloquy has attended this warden, the correctness of which may be greatly doubted, regarding his management of the revenues of the College of Manchester. It is said that "at his departure he proved another Herle, making away what he could."‡

When the bishop was removed to Lincoln he is reported to have become "a great encourager of the puritanical mode of prophesying."§

* Hollingworth remarks, that A. D. 1594, the sickness was in Failsworth, at Clough House.

† Godwin, Vol. II. p. 35.

‡ Quotation in Mr Greswell's Collections, from a MS. of the date of 1684.

§ Dr Chaderton died April 11, 1608, at Southoe in Huntingdonshire, and was obscurely buried in that church. It is affirmed that there has not been the least memorial erected for him or any of his family, who have been long since gone from that place.

¶ In drawing up the foregoing narrative, I am chiefly indebted to the voluminous state-letters published by Peck in his *Desiderata Curiosa*. Two important documents now given are from the Archives in the British Museum; copies of them having been obligingly sent to me by Thomas Heywood, Esq. of Swinton.—S. H.

CHAPTER XIV.

ANNALS OF THE WARDENSHIP OF JOHN DEE, A. M. A. D. 1595 TO 1608.

From Mr GRESWELL's collections, and HOLLINGWORTH, with additions.

HOLLINGWORTH observes, "That, anno 1595, John Dee, doctor of physicke, having a grant from the queen of the chancellourship of St Paul's, London, and that not falling void, he was offered, and did accept of, the wardenship of Manchester College, and had it by patent under the great seale."^x—"He was a very learned man ;

^x The life of this extraordinary man has been written by several authors, and has been frequently before the public, on which account the publishers have been unwilling to swell up the pages of their work with too copious a biography, particularly as it is not connected with the annals of the Collegiate Church of Manchester. This must be, therefore, their apology for giving nothing more than an abstract of the "life of Dr Dee" as it appears among Mr Greswell's collections. He was born July 13th, 1527, in London ; and after some time spent at school there and at Chelmsford in Essex, was sent in the year 1542 to St John's College in Cambridge. His application to his studies was intense. In May 1547 he visited the low countries, for the sake of conversing with several learned men ; and on his return to Cambridge was, upon the erection of Trinity College by King Henry VIII., nominated one of the fellows. He here enjoyed considerable reputation. His assiduity in making astronomical observations, which were then considered as connected with the desire of prying into futurity, gave rise to a variety of reports prejudicial to his character. In 1548 he took the degree of master of arts, and went to reside at the University of Louvain. Here he distinguished himself in such a manner as to attract the particular notice of the Duke of Mantua, Don Lewis de la Corda, (afterwards Duke of Medina Celi,) and other personages of high rank. In this university it is probable that he had the degree of doctor of laws conferred upon him. In July 1550 he went to Paris, where, in the College of Rheims, he read lectures on Euclid's Elements with vast applause ; and great offers were made him, in vain, to induce him to accept a professorship in that university. In 1551 he returned into England ; was well received by King Edward and the ministry, and had a pension of 100 crowns per annum, which he afterwards exchanged for a grant of the rectory of Upton-upon-Severn, his majesty's presentation of which he received May 9th, 1553.

In the next reign he was for some time kindly treated, having in his youth been fellow student with some of Queen Mary's ministers ; but a charge of plotting against her majesty's life by enchantments being preferred against him, he was committed to prison. After a tedious prosecution and confinement, his innocence was acknowledged, and August 19, 1559, he was restored to liberty. His zeal in the cause of letters appears from a memorial, which is addressed to the

a perfect master of mathematical studies. He was a master of divers secrets in vulgar chemistry. He was generally by the common people, and by some others, reputed a conjuror, and thereby was forced often seriously and fervently to apologize for himself. He was very sober, just, temperate in his carriage, studious, yea an observer of public and private devotions."

Queen, for the recovery and preservation of ancient writings and monuments, by a general search through the libraries of Europe.

Upon the accession of Queen Elizabeth, he delivered, at the desire of Lord Robert Dudley, his opinion upon the principles of the ancient astrologers, about the election of a fit day for the coronation, and thus recommended himself not only to the powerful favourite above-mentioned, and several others of the nobility, but to the Queen herself, insomuch, that she promised to be kinder to him than her brother Edward had been, and conferred upon him some extraordinary marks of her notice and favour. He received many promises of preferment in the church, which, however, were not realized,

In the spring of the year 1564, he went again abroad, to present to the Emperor Maximilian his work entitled "*Monas Hieroglyphica*," (printed at Antwerp, 1654.) and dedicated to that prince. But he returned to England in the summer, in which journey he was so serviceable to the Marchioness of Northampton, that she remained his constant patroness ever after.

In 1571 we find Dr Dee at Lorraine, where, falling grievously sick, and in great danger of death, he was not forgotten by the queen, who sent him two physicians, and gave him other proofs of her regard. Upon his return to England, he retired to his house at Mortlake in Surrey, where he continued to prosecute his studies with extraordinary diligence. At a large expence he collected a noble library, consisting of the most curious books in all sciences, and a very numerous and valuable collection of manuscripts, most of which were afterwards dispersed and lost. His library is said to have contained more than four thousand books, of which near a fourth part consisted of manuscripts. He had been nearly forty years collecting them.

On the 16th of March 1575, the Queen, attended by many of her nobility, went to Mr Dee's house to see his library. In 1578, when the Queen was indisposed, Dr Dee was sent abroad to confer with foreign physicians on the subject of her majesty's complaint. He was soon after employed in reforming the calendar.

We now come to that part of Mr Dee's life by which he has been most known to the world. His intercourse with Edward Kelly, a native of Worcestershire, began December 2d, 1581. This man pretended to instruct Mr Dee how to obtain, by certain invocations, an intercourse or communication with spirits, whence a great insight might be gained into what was then called "the occult sciences." For these instructions Kelly was to receive L.50 per annum.

Soon after there came to England a Polish lord, Albert de Laski, palatine of Suadia, a person of distinguished talents and learning. He was well received in this country, especially by Robert Earl of Leicester, the queen's favourite, and Mr Dee's chief patron. This foreigner afterwards became a constant visitor at Dr Dee's, having himself an inclination towards such superstitious arts as were then in so much credit at all the European courts. The doctor accompanied the Polish lord to his own country. They visited Rodolphus II. at the city of Prague. The emperor admitted them to an audience, but was soon disgusted with their reveries. By the King of Poland

John Dee is said by some authors to have been Doctor of Physic and LL. D., while others doubt that he ever took those degrees. He was, however, usually styled DOCTOR DEE. ¹

Dr Dee met with so cool a reception that he returned to Prague; but the Pope's nuncio, resident there, representing him and his companions as magicians, and their presence being considered a scandal to the court, the emperor banished them from his dominions. The doctor found, however, an asylum in the castle of Trebona, belonging to William, Count of Rosenberg, a rich Bohemian nobleman.

Dee and Kelly now quarrelling, the former was induced to give up (January 4th, 1589,) the powder, books, glass, and other implements of conjuration to the latter, and thereupon received his discharge in writing from the Doctor, under his hand and seal.

Upon the 23d of November following, Dr Dee landed at Gravesend, and on the 9th of December presented himself to the queen at Richmond, and was very graciously received. Upon retiring to his own house at Mortlake, which he found in sad condition, he began to endeavour to collect the scattered remains of his library, and the furniture belonging to it, which had been dispersed, and partly destroyed by the populace, who, after his departure in 1583 for the continent, believing him to be a conjuror, and one who dealt with the devil, had broken into his house, and exhausted their rage upon whatever they found in it. He was, however, so successful, by the assistance of his friends in power, as to recover about three-fourths of his books. He estimated his loss at not quite L. 400.

Economy does not appear to have been a favourite virtue with Mr Dee. A very short time after his return he had to complain to the queen as well of his wants as of the vexations he suffered from the populace. To relieve the former, her majesty (A. D. 1590) promised him 200 angels to cheer his Christmas; one-half of the sum he received, but gave a broad hint that the Queen and himself were defrauded of the other.

He was next recommended by the Queen to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was desired to make provision for him; but after many disappointments and hopes of preferment his friends, being some of them dead, the friendship of others cooling, and his creditors growing impatient, he addressed, November 9th, 1592, a memorial to the throne, in which he earnestly requested that commissioners might be appointed to examine the testimonies which he had to exhibit in support of his several claims, to receive a just statement of his affairs, and to report these to her majesty. Two commissioners were accordingly sent on this business to Mortlake, when Mr Dee exhibited a book containing a distinct account of all the memorable transactions of his life.

The Queen in consequence sent Mrs Dee a present of 100 marks, and promises of preferment to her husband, which still continued unaccomplished like the former. On February 15th, 1593, he addressed another short petition in Latin to the Queen, the success of which does not appear. At length, December 8th, 1594, he obtained a grant of the Chancellorship of St Paul's; but this not answering his end, he addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury an account of all the books which he had either written or published, upon which he was presented with the wardenship of Manchester College, vacant by the removal of Dr William Chaderton to the see of Chester; his patent passing the Great Seal May 25th, 1595.

¹ "I write him," says the author of an account of the wardens, (A. D. 1773,) "only master of

On the 14th of February 1596, Dr Dee arrived with his family in Manchester; and on the 20th of the same month was installed, with great pomp and solemnity. The following is a list of the laity, some of whom were probably churchwardens, who assisted in the ceremony, viz. :—Edmund Prestwich, Richard Massey, Esquires; George Birch, Ralph Byrom, Ralph Houghton, Thomas Byrom, Henry Hardy, Richard Nugent, Gents.

23d of March 1596, John Lacye resold the manor of Manchester for the sum of L.3500 to Sir Nicholas Mosley;^a and in two years afterwards, 1598, the mansion and park of Alport passed out of the possession of the Derby family, and fell by purchase into the hands of the Mosleys.^a

A. D. 1599, in the order for raising men to go to Ireland to suppress the rebellion, the magistrates of Manchester were cautioned “not to send any vagabonds or disorderly persons, but men of good character, and particularly young men, who were skilled in the use of the hand gun.”^b

About this time the chapel at the east of the church, originally dedicated to

arts, to which he was admitted 1548, and this was the highest degree he ever took, though commonly called and wrote Doctor Dee. But he was installed warden by the name of John Dee, A. M., and so always called and writ himself in the college register.”

^a “About this time,” says Hollingworth, “flourished Sir Nicholas Mosley, Lord Mayor of London, whom, from a small low estate, God raised up to riches and honour. He bought the lordship of the manor of Manchester, and of the Hough-End Hall, in the place where his father’s tenement stood.”

^a On the 8th of March, 41st Elizabeth, William, Earl of Derby, granted Alport Park, under the name of Nether Aldport, with the lodge therein, and certain fields called Over Alport, together with other lands, which lay between the pales of the said park and the Irwell, to Sir Randle Brereton of Malpas, Knight, for a term of 2000 years, who immediately disposed of them to Thomas Rowe of Hartford, in the county of Chester, yeoman, who also sold his interest therein on the 21st day of May following, to Oswald Mosley, the elder of Manchester, Esq., Edward Mosley, of Gray’s Inn, Esq. (afterwards attorney-general of the duchy of Lancaster,) and Adam Smythe of Manchester, mercer.

“In the 44th of Elizabeth (1602,) the above named purchasers divided the said lands amongst themselves by a deed of partition, in which it was agreed that Edward Mosley, Esq. should have the capital messuage, called Alport Lodge, and the reversion of forty acres and a half of the said lands, as his share: that Oswald Mosley, Esq. should have twenty-four acres, one roodland and a half, and two falles of the said lands, as his share; and that Mr Adam Smythe should have thirty acres and a half of the said lands as his share.

“This mansion, Alport, together with the lands allotted to Edward Mosley, Esq. by the above named deed of partition, was settled by him upon his elder brother, Rowland Mosley, Esq.—See Palmer’s History of the Siege of Manchester.”

^b Aston’s Manchester Guide.

OUR LADY, is supposed to have come to the Cheethams when they purchased Clayton from the Byrons.^c

In the year 1601, Dean Nowell, one of the fellows of Manchester College, died at the advanced age of ninety.^d

But we may now advert to the residence of Dr Dee in Manchester. He lived on very ill terms with the fellows of the college, the cause of which is not stated; ill management and a haughty behaviour are ascribed to him, while his colleagues are charged with having shown a turbulent disposition. He was naturally looked upon by the inhabitants of the town and country round about as possessing a kind of supernatural skill, which could afford them relief in a variety of cases beyond the reach of medicine; and when seven persons in Lancashire, Margaret Byrom of Salford, and six others, were believed to be possessed with evil spirits, the warden was applied to, and requested to exert his supposed power of control over these demons; but he absolutely refused by any unlawful means to cast them out, and advised the suitors to apply for some godly minister out of Northamptonshire—a proof of the estimation in which he held his own fellow members of the college—that they might unite their prayers with those of other ministers in this county. He strictly examined, and severely rebuked one Hartley, a conjuror, for his unlawful art.

Queen Elizabeth died in 1603, and at this period puritanism continued to spread in Manchester, chiefly through the exertions of Mr Bourne. “The puritans,” says Mr Hume, in his general history of their lives, “had not yet separated themselves from the church, nor openly renounced episcopacy. Upon a conference between the leaders of the two parties before James the First at Hampton Court, the ministers of the puritans moved the king for permission to revive their assemblies called prophesyings, which had been suppressed by Queen Elizabeth. But James sharply replied, ‘If you aim at a Scottish presbytery, it agrees as well with monarchy as God and the Devil.’” At this conference the dissenters proposed the revival of the synods or chapters held by rural deans.—Lawrence

^c “This warden (West) built the chapel at the east end of the church, formerly called Sir John Byron’s Chapel, who was an ancient knight of the family at Clayton in this parish, whose posterity is now Lord Byron’s, and was since purchased with Clayton by Humphrey Chetham, Esq.”—Ancient MS. pen. the Rev. J. Brookes.

^d It has been mentioned that Dean Nowell, in the year 1578, was made fellow of Manchester College. Afterwards, in 1594, he became Canon of Windsor; and in 1595 was Principal of Brazennose. He resigned December 14th following, and died February 13th, 1601, æt. 90.

Chaderton, a Lancashire man, was an active debater on the part of the nonconformists.^c

In the year following Dr Dee quitted Manchester. His narrative is distressing. He grew so uneasy by the disputes in the college, and the reports which prevailed abroad, that, on the 5th of June 1604, he presented a petition to King James, earnestly desiring that he might be brought to trial, in order that by a judicial sentence he might be formally delivered from all the suspicions and surmises under which he had laboured for more than half a century. Upon the 8th of the same month he addressed a similar application to parliament; but the king having made some inquiry from the Earl of Salisbury, as to the nature of his studies, so far from giving him any mark of royal favour, does not even appear to have granted this very reasonable petition. The neglect is supposed to have made a deep impression upon his mind. In the month of November 1604, being then in a very infirm state of health, Dr Dee quitted Manchester with his family, in order to return to his house at Mortlake; but coming first to London, and finding he had nothing to hope from the Earl of Salisbury or any of his former patrons, he retired to his own habitation, and renewed his imagined intercourse with spirits.

“Anno 1605, the Lord visited this towne, as forty years before and forty years after, with a sore pestilence.”—Hollingworth.

In a previous year the number of deaths in the parish had amounted to 188, but this year the amount was 1078. “Among those who died,” says Hollingworth, “was Mr Kirke, chaplain of the college, and his wife, with four children.

^c “Lawrence Chaderton,” says Hollingworth, “who, when he first went to Cambridge, was a papist, was (God being merciful to him) converted both into the paths of truth and holiness. Then his father sent him a poke to goe a-begging, and a groat in it, telling him, that, unless he did returne, it should be the last money he should receive from him. But God raised him up friends in Cambridge, and he grew in years in grace and knowledge, and also in university degrees, save that Mr Butler, that eminent physician, hindered for a time his degrees of doctorshippe, because he was a puritan; and indeed he was one of those that held the conference with the bishops of Hampton-Court in the behalfe of ye nonconformists in the beginning of King James his reigne. But at the coming of the Paulsgreave to Cambridge, he took his degree of doctor. Also Sir Walker Mildmay, Chancellor of ye Exchequer, founder of Emmanuell College, made him the first master, who, when he was grown old, did willingly resigne up the mastership, to which the fellows elected John Preston, fellow of Queen's College, afterwards D. D. and chaplain in ordinary to his majesty. And he retired to a private life, and dyed full of dayes and honour, seeing the death of two of his successors, (viz.) Dr Preston and Dr San-croft, and his funerall sermon was preached by the third, (viz.) Dr Holdsworke.”

All the time of the sickness Mr Bourne preached in the towne so long as he durst, by reason of the unruliness of infected persons and want of government, and then he went and preached in a field near Shooter's Brooke, the people of the towne being on one side, he and the country people on the other." Monumental stones were also erected, where the townspeople deposited the money for their purchases, and the country people their provisions, without coming in contact with each other. They were named plague-stones. In the year following the plague ceased, and the number of deaths in the parish was reduced to 153.

"At this time," says Hollingworth, "lived in good esteeme Thomas Cogan, high master of the free school, professor of physick, and the author of the book calculated for the meridian of Lancashire, especially of Manchester, (called the Haven of Health): and Walter Balcanquhall, B. D. [a native of Scotland] was made fellow. He was since D. D., Deane of Rochester, and one of the five English divines that were sent to the synod of Dort. John White, D. D. and vicar of Eccles, was also made fellowe of the college, a learned and laborious preacher and asserter of the reformed religion. He wrote several treatises, one of which, 'The Way to the True Church,' was defended against some popish writers by his brother, Dr Francis White, Bishop of Ely."

Dr Dee, the warden of Manchester, towards the close of his age, became miserably poor. According to Anthony Wood "he was obliged to dispose of his books to procure subsistence. But he seems to have held his preferment to the last. He died some time in the year 1608, at the advanced age of 81 years, and was buried in the chancel of the church at Mortlake, without any tombstone or memorial; and yet the ancient inhabitants of that place were able, in 1672, to show the very spot where he was interred. He left behind him a numerous posterity, both male and female."^f

^f The catalogue of Dr Dee's printed and unprinted works is so great, amounting to near sixty, as to preclude a mention of them in this work. Mr Greswell seems to have collected their titles with some care; but they have been frequently printed, and the insertion of them is foreign to the object of this publication. Dr Dee's works were on the subjects of mathematics, metaphysics, logic, Hebrew literature, theology, Hermetic chemistry, astrology, astronomy, navigation, hydrography, optics, politics, general antiquities, and heraldry. His most noted volumes, only part of which are published, are those which contain an account of his various communications with spirits.

When Dr Dee was in Manchester he paid attention to the Roman remains found in Castlefield, the Mancunium of the Romans. He pointed out an inscription to Mr Camden, attributable to the Frisian cohort which occupied this station.

CHAPTER XV.

ANNALS OF THE WARDENSHIP OF RICHARD MURRAY, D.D., A.D. 1608 to 1636.

Collected from various sources.

AT the commencement of this wardenship the puritans had formed a decided sect in the church, but had not published any separate worship or discipline. They maintained, say historical writers, that they themselves were the only pure church; that their principles and practices ought to be established by law; and that no others ought to be tolerated. Government therefore began to act with great circumspection, and hesitated to confer upon them any offices of great responsibility in the church. This was one of the circumstances which proved fatal to the claims of Mr William Bourne, fellow of the college, who aspired to the rank of warden. "Although," says Hollingworth, "he was an approved divine, and had also married a kinswoman of the Cecyll Lord Burghley, and was in a faire likelyhood of being warden, and had a grant for it, yet he was hindered partly by his nonconformity." Another reason assigned for Mr Bourne's loss of the wardenship was the predilection in the court of King James to Scotsmen, who were often preferred wherever a contest took place for civil or ecclesiastical honours. "Mr Bourne was hindered," adds Hollingworth, "partly also by the potency of some Scottish lords at court, who got this wardenship for Richard Murray, D.D., who was likewise parson of Stopford, dean of St Buriens in Cornwall, and had some civil honours descending to him by inheritance from his Scottish ancestors." This likewise is correct; Dr Murray was a branch of the noble family of the Earls of Atholl in Scotland. From the interest, however, which Mr Bourne possessed, it was found necessary to do something for him; and Mr Bourne had not yet arrived at that inordinate strictness of puritanic principles, by which he was enabled to resist the temptation of the loaves and fishes. To make him amends, therefore, for his disappointment, Dr Murray consented to allow

him a favourable lease for three lives on a parcel of tithes rated at thirty pounds per annum ; and thus, to use the phrase of an historian of Manchester, who has noticed the transaction, Mr Bourne was “ partly compounded off.”⁸

“ When Dr Murray accepted of the wardenship of Manchester it never appears to have been his intention to make this town any thing more than an occasional place of residence ; in which determination he imitated almost all his predecessors. Indeed, as a courtier he could not well do otherwise ; for he was in frequent attendance on the king at London. Besides, he did not look upon the wardenship of Manchester College as necessarily a sacred office ; for, in the instance of Dr Dee, it had been previously conferred upon a layman. Considering also the serious quarrels which had so long subsisted between the fellows and the late warden, Dr Murray could have no very natural predilection for the society of the Manchester College ; added to which there was little cordiality to be expected from his late rival, Mr Bourne the puritan, as a colleague. Whether these circumstances had actually much influence on the mind of Dr Murray, it is difficult to say. He certainly refused to take the oaths prescribed in the statute of the last foundation, which bound him to a residence in the college, without which he could not be entitled to the church revenues. The cause which dictated the refusal, namely, the intention to absent himself from the charge entrusted to him, admits of no defence, except that in the reigns of the Stuarts all the leading men in the church were unconscionable pluralists. Dr Murray’s refusal, however, under these circumstances, to take an oath of residence, was everything but blameable. It was conscientious, because it disclaimed any trifling or compounding with the sacred obligation of an oath. In a few words, Dr Murray never intended to reside in Manchester ; and that there might be no ambiguity about

⁸ It will be well to keep this transaction in mind, as Dr Murray had afterwards the whole weight of certain charges relative to the waste of the church revenues thrown upon him, in which Mr Bourne was equally involved. The passage from “ The Life of the Wardens ” alluded to is as follows :—“ After the death of Mr Dee, William Bourn, B. D. one of the fellows of the college, being a man of learning, and well-beloved in the town, and had also married a kinswoman of the Cecils Lord Burleigh’s family, who made interest for, and was in a fair likelihood of being made warden, and ’tis said had a grant for it ; but was prevented by the prevalence of the Scotch party, which then grew potent at court, who possessed James with an opinion of his being too much puritanically inclined (which indeed could not be denied,) yet had so good an interest as to be partly compounded off, having a parcel of tithes of about thirty pounds per annum given him by a lease for three lives ; and so prevailed for a countryman of their own.”

the matter, he was honest and open enough to declare his intentions by a plain refusal to take the accustomed oath of residence.”—S. H.

Dr Murray is said to have lived at Manchester in pomp, and to have kept suitable port and hospitality. “He lived in great state,” says Hollingworth, “accounting himself (as indeed by his place he was) the best man in the parish. He required the fellows, chaplains, singing men, and choristers, to go before him to church, and some gentlemen followed after.”^b He demanded his seate from the Bishop of Chester when he was set in it, saying, My Lord, that seat belongs to the warden; and because he would not sit below the bishop, he removed into the body of the church: and in the afternoone he came timely enough to take his own seate, and soe the bishop was forced to seek another seate.” This was attributed to Scottish pride. It is again said by Hollingworth, that “when Dr Murray was abroad he lived very obscurely, lodging rarely in the best innes, or two journies together in the same inne.” This idle calumny was attributed to Scottish frugality.

On the 20th December, in the seventh year of James I., two rent charges of twenty shillings each were given by Walter and Margaret Nugent. The value was to be distributed in turf (properly *peat*) to poor householders in the town of Manchester.¹

For some years after Dr Murray accepted the wardenship of Manchester, there are no events of very material occurrence in the town. In 1613 Thomas Grelle’s charter to the burgesses of Manchester was confirmed by James I.²

^b This custom, much as it has been inveighed against, was notwithstanding so grateful to successive wardens that it was more or less adopted down to the time of Dr Samuel Peploe. Some inhabitants of the town yet living remember the custom of fellows, choristers, church-wardens, &c. setting off in procession from Dr Peploe’s house in Deansgate on their route to the Collegiate Church.

¹ It is now added to the Boroughreeve’s charity.

² In Hollingworth’s *Mancuniensis* we find the following events:—“Anno 1616 was an extraordinary great floud, called Lambard’s Floud, in which the waters suddenly rose yards plumme above the ordinary course, y^t men stood upon Salford Bridge and laded up water with a little piggin. It is an easie matter with God to drown a towne, yea a world.

“About this time Edward Riddlestone, born in Manchester, was vice-principal of Brasenose College, Oxford, a very pious man, much honoured of the whole university, whose preaching was with such life and power, and in such evidences and demonstration of the spirit, that his hearers were ordinarily stricken with feare and reverence, if not with terrour. To whom I will joyne another neighbour, John Smyth, M. A., president or vice-master of Magdalen College, Cambridge, and once senior procter of the university; a provident man, and a prudent governor

“Anno 1617 was the faire and large gallery in the church built, which we comonly call the loft, at the charges of some private men, especially of Humfrey Booth of Salford, gent.; and the yeare after seates were leased out to Sir Edmund Trafford, Knt. and Humphrey Davenport of Salford, Esq., Oswald Mosley of Ancoates, Esq. and others were benefactors during the terme of their naturall lives respectively.”—Hollingworth.

In the 15th of James I. Rowland Mosley, Esq., by a deed dated the 21st of November, gave a yearly rent “of ten pounds out of Collyhurst estate to the poor of Manchester; and also the privilege to the inhabitants of Manchester, at all times, when any infection or plague shall happen in the town, to erect cabina, &c. for the disposal of infected persons, upon six acres of the Collyhurst estate, adjoining Manchester.”

In 1618 a royal visit was paid to Lancashire, which was fraught with momentous consequences. No one has better explained this event than Mr Baines in his History of Lancashire. “The royal visit,” says this writer, “proved ultimately more important in its influence upon the civil and ecclesiastical establishments of the kingdom than could have been anticipated either by the king himself, or by any of his subjects. James, on his return from Scotland, took up his residence at Hoghton Tower, and condescended freely to partake of the festivities of the banquetting house and the sports of the field, provided by his host Sir Richard Hoghton, Bart. While he was in this county, it was represented to his majesty, ‘that his subjects were debarred from lawful recreations on Sunday, after evening prayers, and upon holydays.’ The origin of this complaint had been laid in the time of Elizabeth. In order to reform the manners of the people, the high commission issued orders throughout the county against ‘pipers and minstrels playing, making, and frequenting bear-baiting and bull-baiting on the Sabbath days, or upon any other days, in time of divine service; and also against superstitious ringing of bells, wakes, and common feasts, drunkenness, gaming, and other vicious and unprofitable pursuits.’ These restrictions the royal visitor thought incompatible with the public weal. In consequence of which he issued a proclamation, setting forth, ‘That in his progress through Lancashire, (A. D. 1616,) he found it necessary to rebuke some puritans and precise people, and took

of the college; a lover of his countrymen; a bountiful benefactor to the college, founding new fellowships and scholarships. And shortly after his death John Haworth, B. D., a Manchester man, also succeeded him; one eminently learned, and to whom the author hereof (once his pupil) is much indebted.

order that the said unlawful carriage should not be used by any of them hereafter, in the prohibiting and unlawfully punishing his good people for using their lawful recreations and honest exercises upon Sundays after service.' His majesty, in this memorable declaration, further states, ' that he found that two sorts of people, wherewith this county is much infested, viz. papists and puritans, had maliciously traduced and calumniated his just and honourable proceedings ; he had therefore thought to clear and make his pleasure manifest to all his good people in these parts ; and his majesty's pleasure was, that the bishop of the diocese in which Lancashire was situated should take strict orders with all the puritans and precisians within the same, either to constrain them to conform themselves, or to leave the country, according to the laws of this kingdom and canons of this church ; and for his good people's lawful recreation, his pleasure is, that, after the end of divine service, his good people be not disturbed, letted, or discouraged from any lawful recreation, such as dancing, either men or women ; archery for men, leaping, vaulting, or any other such harmless recreation ; nor from having May-games, Whitson-ales, and Morice-dances, and the setting up of May-poles, and other sports therewith used ; so as the same be had in due and convenient time, without impediment or neglect of divine service ; and that women shall have leave to carry rushes to the church for the decorating of it, according to their old custom ; but withal, his majesty doth here account still as prohibited, all unlawful games to be used upon Sundays only, as bear and bull-baitings, interludes, and at all times in the meaner sort of people, by law prohibited, bowling : and likewise bars from this benefit and liberty all such known recusants, either men or women, as will abstain from coming to church or divine service ; being therefore unworthy of any lawful recreation after the said service, that will not first come to church and serve God : Prohibiting in like sort the said recreations to any that, though conformed in religion, are not present in the church at the service of God, before their going to the said recreations. And his pleasure is, that this his declaration should be published by order from the bishop of the diocese through all the parish churches, and that both the judges of the circuits and the justices of the peace be informed thereof.

" On his return to London, his majesty further saw that his loyal subjects in all other parts of the kingdom did suffer in the same kind, though perhaps not in the same degree as in Lancashire, and he did therefore, in his princely wisdom, publish a declaration to all his loving subjects, concerning lawful sports to be used on Sundays and festivals,' which was printed and published by his royal command in the year 1618, under the title of ' BOOK OF SPORTS.' "

May 7th, 1621, Edward Mayes, by a will, of this date, left L. 120, to be laid out in the purchase of lands in Manchester, the profit of which was to be distributed yearly on Good Friday to the poor of the town.¹

In November 18th, 1624, George Marshall of Manchester, by a will, of this date, left all his lands to the poor of Manchester.

About this period the chapel belonging to Strangeways, once possessed by Hulton of the Parke, was purchased by the Hartleys of Strangeways.

In 1625 Charles I. was called to the throne; and, in the same year, Henry Montague, Lord Montague of Kimbolton was created Earl of Manchester.

A. D. 1626, Ellen Hartley gave the clear yearly rents of certain premises in Market-stidd-lane to the aged and poor of Manchester.

The spirit of puritanism had at this period spread throughout the kingdom. "Men," says Hume, "of the greatest parts and most extensive knowledge, could not enjoy peace of mind, because obliged to hear prayers offered up to the Divinity by a priest covered with a white linen vestment. Again, there were several descriptions of puritans; those who were for a purer political government; those who were averse to the discipline of the church of England, namely, to its ceremonies and episcopal government; and those who were strictly doctrinal, and who defended speculative systems, particularly of the first reformers."

About this time, Sir Cecyll Trafford, being a justice of the peace, was a great persecutor of the Catholics, levying, (besides other severities used by him against them,) 12d. per head for non-attendance at church each Lord's day.²

In 1626, Mr Richard Heyrick, fellow of All-Soul's College in Oxford, and son of Sir William Heyrick of Beaumanor Park in Leicestershire, was promised the reversion of the wardenship of Manchester College, which was then worth about L. 700 per annum. The circumstances which led to the grant were as follows: Sir William Heyrick, one of the tellers of the exchequer to James the First, having frequently assisted in recruiting the impoverished funds of his sovereign, was a creditor of the crown to the amount of L. 8000, for which he was promised a pension that he never enjoyed. In vain he petitioned for repayment, that he might not sink under a greater burden than he was able to bear. But

¹ A more particular account of these charities will be given in another part of the work.

² Mr Palmer states that Sir Cecyll Trafford was a puritan.

³ "Manchester," says Hollingworth, "gave honour to, and received honour from Henry Montague, who, being before Baron Kimbolton, and Viscount Mandeville, and Lord president of his majesty's privy councill, was created Earle of Manchester, February 7th, 1625. He was afterward Lord Privy Seale.

until Charles ascended the throne the prayer was unheeded. Immediately after this event, Sir William Heyrick addressed the following supplication to the King.

“ To the King’s Most Excellent Majesty, The humble petition of Sir William Heyrick, Knight, your Majesty’s father’s ancient servant ; Humbly sheweth, That your petitioner having many years served your Majesty’s royal father before his happy coming to England, and since ; and in that time, as the then Lord Treasurer and others did take up great sums of money to do his said Majesty’s service, which being not paid off a long time after, became a great loss and hindrance to your petitioner, almost to his undoing ; and there being yet due to your petitioner a great sum of money, and also a pension, which both have been unpaid of a long time, by reason of your Majesty’s great occasions, he cannot get any part thereof, so that he is not able to do for his children, as otherwise he could. He most humbly beseecheth your Majesty, in respect of the premises, to be graciously pleased to bestow the reversion of the guardianship of the college in Manchester upon his son, Richard Heyrick, a fellow of All-Soul’s College in Oxford, and master of arts of some six years standing, after the decease of Sir Richard Murray, Knight, who hath it by patent during life, granted since the sixth year of your Majesty’s late father’s reign ; and your petitioner, as in duty bound, shall ever pray for your Majesty’s long and happy reign over us.”

The petition, as we might expect, met with a favourable hearing. Charles was glad to get rid of the debt upon such easy terms ; and, therefore, on the 14th November 1626, the following reply appeared :—“ At the Court of Whitehall, his Majesty being informed that the petitioner is content to relinquish both his pension and arrearage, is graciously pleased to grant his request, if the Chancellor of the dutchy, to whom the same is referred, shall so think fit, who is to give order for the necessary instrument for his Majesty’s signature.” *

After this time Richard Heyrick had much intercourse with the Manchester College. He was attached to the presbyterian form of church government, and to general puritanic principles.

A. D. 1630, Humphry Booth gave lands at Stanley Barn, (now the east side of Piccadilly,) and at Garret, to the poor of Salford.

“ Anno 1681,” says Mr Hollingworth, “ the Lord sent his destroying angel

* Memoirs of the family of Heyrick are to be found in the Statistical Accounts of Leicester-shire. The above extract was made by Mr Whatton.

into an inne house in Manchester, in which died Richard Merriot and his wife, (master and dame of the house,) and all that were in it, or went into, (it's thought,) for certain days together, till at the last they burned or buried all the goods in the house, and yet God in the midst of judgment did remember mercy, for no person else was that yeare touched with the infection.

"About this time there was a difference betwixt Mr William Bourne and Mr Richard Johnson, (two fellows of the college,) about the nature of sin, whether it be meerly privative, or have any positiveness in it. Mr Bourne maintained the latter, and Mr Johnson the former, which was so publicly taken notice of, that a popish priest took upon him to determine the controversy in writing, and to inveigh against 'em both and all protestants, because of their divisions, whereas this very controversy was first fathered or hatched amongst the papists, and it and others of far greater importance are still amongst 'em. The priest's writing was examined by R. H." (Richard Hollingworth.)

Hollingworth next relates the remarkable conversion of Sir Cecyll Trafford, the bitter enemy of the papists, to popery. "Francis Downes of Wardley, Esq. (afterwards allied to him by the marriage of John, his brother, to Penelope, daughter of Sir Cecyll) having revolted from the reformed religion, Sir Cecyll intended, by arguments, to have restored him to the church. In their disputes, Downes brought such convincing proofs of the truth of his faith, that Sir Cecyll forthwith abjured his religion, and became a convert to the Catholic faith."

"A. D. 1632," continues Hollingworth, "Daniel Baker, M. A. rector of Ashton, Mersey Bank, and a fellow of the collegiate church, having on Good Friday administered the sacrament of the Lord's supper, and being, as it's feared, somewhat overcharged with drink, was found dead in the morning in the water under Salford Bridge. Whether he fell down of himself, being a tall man, and the battlements then but low, or whether he was cast down, or put over the bridge, it was not knowne. But it's since said a man cast him down and confessed it. The death of him, also of Dr Butts, the vice-chancellor of Cambridge, hanging himself on Easter-day after, and some other ministers and eminent professors coming that yeare to an untimely end, as also the above-mentioned difference between the ministry, seemed to the papists, especially to those that were newly revolted to them, as Sir Cecyll Trafford of Trafford, Knight, and Francis Downes of Worsley, Esq. and others, signal evidences of God's anger and wrath, and pre-sages of the ruine of the reformed religion.""

^p Hollingworth gives an account of another Manchester man who was seduced to Popery. "1592, Was born in Manchester, William, the son of Simon Malloone, a young man of pregnant

But we may now consider some very important events which were beginning to disturb the peace of England. All writers that describe the thorough paced puritans of this period consider them as distinguished by a sourness and austerity of manners, and a dislike to all social pleasures. The fondness of the court for various amusements, such as stage-plays, interludes, and dancing, together with the liberty which the late king had given to the celebration on the Sabbath of the ancient sports which he had observed in Lancashire, were with the puritan unpardonable sins. In the year 1632 an inflammatory paper was by some unknown person fixed with shoemaker's wax upon the south door of the parish church of Manchester, which, from its exhortation to open rebellion against the king, caused no small emotion. Its contents were as follows :

A PIECE OF PARACELSUS, HIS PLASTER, OR A LITTLE MELANCHOLIKE TREASON
EXTRACTED FROM A DISTRACTED AND SIMPLE SOUL.

This [is] a general fast against the general day of judgment. Close upon the xith of Numbers.—The Lord gave the Israelites a certaine rate or allowance of bread every day, so much as might preserve the body in humility and subjection to the soul, whereby they might onely unite in the lust or service of Him, rather than any lust or service of the body whatsoever, yet they lusted for flesh, and dye with it between their teeth.—Use the 2d of *Joel*.—Why do ye eat, drinke, and live at ease only to fulfill the desire of the body, to wife, children, getting of goods, murther, adultery, or any external thing whatsoever? I say unto you, mortifie the corrupt nature of the body by fasting, be content with so much bread and water as may preserve the life of the body in humility and subjection to the soule, whereby they may onely unite in the lust and service of God, which is the life for ever, rather then any lust or service of the body whatsoever. As Moses, by the will of God, was the messenger to deliver the Israelites from under the bondage of the devill, and the desire of Pharaos, out of the land of Egypt into the land of Chanaan, so, by this similitude, have you deliverance here from under the bondage of the devill, and the desire of Charles, out of the land of England into the land of Heaven, all that believe and resist."

wit. He was tempted by some Irish merchants, with whom the town then, (and a long time after, untill the rebellion broke out in 1649,) did carry on a great and gainfull trade, to go beyond the sea, (being) seduced from the reformed religion to the Romish, of which he became one of the most able and earnest assertors. He made the reply to Archbishop Usher's answer to the jesuit's challenge, but he was overmatched, his adversary being more eminently learned, and having evidence of truth on his side. Malloone caused his reply to be dispersed in Manchester. He afterwards went to Rome, and was master of the Irish college there. Dr Hoyle rejoined to his reply."

The foregoing, which is curious, when viewed in connection with the subsequent rebellion, was, on the 22d of May 1632, taken off from the church wall by John Ratcliffe, one of the church-wardens, and, being afterwards indorsed by him and Jeffery Crompton, the other church-warden, was transmitted to the seat of government in London.^a

The king, however, made not the smallest degree of concession to the puritanic spirit of the age. "In the year 1633," says Hume, "Prynne wrote his *Histrio-Mastyx* to decry stage-plays, comedies, interludes, music, and dancing. He considered the chief crime of Nero to be his frequenting and acting plays; and that those who conspired his death were chiefly moved to it by their indignation at that enormity. The king and queen frequented these amusements, and the queen sometimes even took a part herself in pastorals and interludes which were represented before the court."^r But there was another circumstance which rendered the name and character of the sovereign more odious to the austere puritan: Charles, like his father James the First, had encouraged popular sports even to the profanation of the Sabbath, under the plea of reviving the ancient games which the people in popish times had been innocently accustomed to enjoy on the Sunday. In the year 1633 the King, in his progress into Scotland, passed through Lancashire. He there made his sentiments known, that, by the strictness of some magistrates and ministers in some places, people were hindered from their recreations on the Sunday, the papists being thereby persuaded that no recreation was tolerable in our religion. He therefore, as it has been remarked by a writer, thought fit, for the ease, comfort, and recreation of his well deserving people, to ratify and republish this his blessed father's declaration; and the reason assigned was, because of late, in some counties of the kingdom, his majesty found, that, under pretence of taking away abuses, there had been a general forbidding, not only of ordinary meetings, but of the feasts of the dedication of churches, commonly called WAKES. His majesty therefore expressed his royal will and pleasure that these feasts, with others, should be observed, and that the justices of the peace and the judges of assizes should

^a Harleian MS. 2176, fo. 4. For this communication the publishers have been indebted to Thomas Heywood, Esq. of Swinton.

^r "It is probable," adds Mr Hume, "that this circumstance, the work being accounted a satire on the king and queen, together with the obstinacy and petulance of Prynne's behaviour before the star-chamber, was the cause of the excessive severity of his sentence. He was condemned to be put from the bar; to stand on the pillory in two places, Westminster and Cheapside; to lose both his ears, one in each place; to pay L. 5000 to the king; and to be imprisoned during life."

make known his gracious intentions, and that the bishops should cause his will to be published in all the parish churches of their several and respective dioceses.*

“ This decree could not be forgiven by the puritans. Such preachers in the established church as had predilections for a presbyterian form of government did not hesitate to proclaim the same to their congregations. The fellows and chaplains of the church of Manchester were most of them puritans ; and owing to the warden being constantly absent, the field of debate was their own. When they found that they had complete possession over the minds of that congregation, they naturally sought to exclude from the pale of the college all that were of opposite opinions to themselves. Dr Murray was particularly obnoxious to them ; he was described by his opponents as ‘ competently learned ;’ as ‘ zealous for the dignity of his place as warden, but not laudable otherwise ;’—as ‘ a great pluralist, and a mighty hunter after other ecclesiastical dignities and benefices.’ ”—S. H.

“ A. D. 1634 Humphrey Booth of Salford,” says Hollingworth, “ laid the foundation of Trinity Chapel in Salford, and at his own cost (save that about the sum of L. 200 was given by several persons, by Sir Alexander Radcliffe of Ordsall, Knt., L. 20 ; by Henry Wrigley, L. 20 ; by Robert Pendleton, L. 20, or L. 40 ; Charles Howarth, L. 10 ; John Hartley, L. 12 ; John Gaskell, L. 10 ; Ralph Bayley, L. 10 ; George Scholes, L. 10, and other less sums) finished the chapel, and endowed it with lands to the value of L. 20 *per annum*.” This Humphrey Booth, being by God’s blessing on his trade made rich, gave also to the poor of Salford (the first fruits of his profits) the first lands which he bought, to the value also of L. 20 *per annum*, and paid it duly all his lifetime. He being in great weakness, earnestly desired that he might live to see the chapel finished, which he did ;[†] but immediately after the solemn dedication of it by the Bishop of Chester[‡] he more apparently weakened. He then earnestly begged that he might partake of the Lord’s Supper there, and then he would not wish to live longer. It pleased God to remove him in such a measure as that he was able to go to the chapel constantly till he was a partaker of the supper (which could not be done of some months after the consecration) in the chapel, and was never able

* See Mr Baines’s well-written history of Lancashire prefixed to his Gazetteer.

† Hollingworth, who was an active puritan at this time, has in his *Mancuniensis* stored up these obloquies.

‡ Mr Aston says he endowed the church with lands at Pendleton to the amount of L. 48 *per annum*, now much more, and a chief of L. 2, 10s. *per annum*, arising from the Ancoats’ estate.

§ The chapel, a wooden building, was adorned with an effigy of Charles I. made also of wood.

¶ The church was consecrated by Bishop Bridgman. Mr Richard Hollingworth preached the consecration sermon from Luke, 7th chapter and 5th verse.

to go forth after, nor scarce to get home. He was a man just in his trading ; generous in entertainment of any gentlemen of quality that came to the town, though mere strangers to him ; bountiful to the church and poor ; faithful to his friend ; and we hope God gave him both repentance for and remission of his sins in the blood of Jesus."—Hollingworth.

* The following is an account, in Hollingworth's handwriting, of the " sumes of money given towards the building of the said chappn :"—

S ^r Alexander Radcliffe,	-	L. 20	0	0	Given in lesser sumes by severall			
Robert Pendleton,	-	20	0	0	persons, the sume of	-	L. 2	16 8
Henry Wrigley,	-	20	0	0				
John Hartley,	-	12	0	0	The rest of the charges, both for this chapp ⁿ			
John Gaskell,	-	10	0	0	and the ornaments thereof, was de-			
Ralph Bayley,	-	10	0	0	frayed by the above-named Humphrey			
Adam and Peter Bowker,	-	15	0	0	Booth.			
Mr Richard Johnson, presbyter,		5	0	0				
Mr Geo. Chetham's widdow,	-	5	0	0	Alexander Greene,	-	L. 1	10 0
George and John Cranage,	-	10	0	0	Edward Johnson,	-	1	10 0
George Scholes,	-	5	0	0	Mr Brookes, minister,	-	1	2 0
Edward Holbrooke,	-	4	0	0	John Doodson,	-	1	1 8
Mrs Anne Mosley of Ancoats and,					Richard Halliwell,	-	1	2 0
her son Nicholas,	-	6	13	4	Francis Ryland,	-	1	0 0
William Cooke of Salford,	-	3	0	0	James Highfield,	-	1	0 0
Richard Lomax,	-	3	0	0	Ralph Woolen,	-	1	0 0
Ralph Briddocke,	-	3	0	0	Rowland Wright,	-	1	0 0
Thomas Blamer,	-	3	0	0	Thomas Owen,	-	1	0 0
Edmund Rycroft,	-	3	0	0	Richard Bury of Salford,	-	1	0 0
Henry Koley and his son Thomas,		5	0	0	John Dawson,	-	1	0 0
Mr Humphrey Chetham,	-	5	0	0	John Stows,	-	1	0 0
W ^m . Cooke of Manchester,	-	2	0	0	Thomas Wolfenden,	-	1	0 0
Thomas Lancashire,	-	2	0	0	Richard Meare,	-	1	0 0
Charles Corker,	-	2	0	0	Richard Chorleton,	-	1	0 0
John Griphin,	-	2	0	0	William Butler,	-	1	0 0
Thomas Illingworth,	-	2	0	0	William Marsh,	-	1	0 0
Samuell Birch,	-	2	0	0	George Linney,	-	1	0 0
John Beswicke,	-	2	0	0	Boardman Vid,	-	1	0 0
John Birch of Openshaw,	-	2	0	0	Roger Nield,	-	1	0 0
John Bowker of Manchester,	-	2	0	0	Robert Chapman,	-	1	0 0
John Whitworth,	-	2	0	0	Nield Vid,	-	1	0 0
Hugh Williams,	-	2	0	0	Thomas Thompson,	-	1	0 0
Lawrence Owen,	-	2	0	0	Thomas Leeds,	-	1	0 0
<hr/>					<hr/>			
L. 191					[Carry forward,]			
13					- L. 26			
4					5 8			

“ Fustians were manufactured about Bolton, Leigh, and the places adjacent ; but Bolton was the principal market for them, where they were bought in the gray by the Manchester chapmen, who finished and sold them in the country. The fustians were made as early as the middle of last century, when Mr Cheetham, who founded the Blue-Coat Hospital, was the principal buyer at Bolton. When he had made his markets, the remainder was purchased by a Mr Cooke, a much less honourable dealer, who took the advantage of calling the pieces what he pleased, and giving his own price. The Manchester traders went regularly on market days to buy pieces of

“ Mr Heyrick, who had acquired by treaty with the crown the indisputable reversion of the wardenship, had avowed from the pulpit of Manchester his bias to the principles of presbyterianism ; exertions were therefore made by such of the fellows and of the parishioners as embraced similar tenets, to prematurely invest him with the government of the college. Nor was a pretext long wanting.

“ During the very frequent absence of the warden, it is no wonder that many abuses should have been going on. In the appropriation of the revenues, various leases for three lives had been given, on such apparently low terms as led to the suspicion, that, for the sake of private gain, some portion of the income of the college had been frittered away. The consequence of this misapplication was, in the first place, a want of funds to keep the church in repair ; whence the complaint that the “ choir-part was growing very ruinous, and that the roof was so crazy as to be in danger of falling.” Another consequence of the impoverished state of the revenues was, that the fellows, chaplains, and other members of the college, were ill paid, and when their places fell void, they were not supplied. The whole blame of this exhaustion of the church revenues was then naturally enough attached to the warden, who was the head of the college. “ This occasioned,” says a writer, “ great murmurings, and general complaints against him ; and at last a representation of the case, and a petition to King Charles I., who, having referred it to the examination and consideration of Archbishop Laud, Lord Coventry, keeper of the Great Seal, and the Earl of Manchester, Lord Privy Seal, afterwards committed it to the examination of commissioners in causes ecclesiastical, which were John Lord Bishop of Chester, Dr Parr, Bishop of the Isle of Man, and others, who sat at Manchester about the examination of that affair.”^b

“ Regarding the justice of the charge little need be said. The misapplication of the revenues of the church was less likely to be committed by a warden seldom present in Manchester, and notoriously careless about the concerns of the college, than by such of the fellows as were constant residents in the town, and who might easily abuse the power which was thrown in their hands. Mr Bourne’s conduct, for instance, is particularly open to suspicion, as it is recorded that he had himself

fustian of the weaver, each weaver then procuring yarn or cotton as he could, which subjected the trade to great inconvenience. To remedy this, some of the chapmen furnished warps and wool to the weavers. They also encouraged weavers to fetch them from Manchester ; and by prompt payment and good usage endeavoured to secure good workmanship.”—In the year 1635, Humphrey Cheetham was High Sheriff of Lancashire.

^b Account of the Wardens, &c. A. D. 1773.

profited by a friendly lease of the self-same kind which had proved the chief subject of accusation before the commissioners; and when Archbishop Laud decided to remedy the grievances complained of in a new charter of foundation, by confining the power of granting leases to twenty-one years, instead of three lives, as formerly, the measure gave the greatest discontent to the puritanic members of the chapter-house.^c

"An inquisition, however, took place; and it is due to the court of ecclesiastical commissioners to observe, that, in giving their verdict, that the greater part of the revenues of the college were by certain men withholden and wrongfully usurped," they involved the warden, and the fellows conjoined with him, equally in the fault. But they could not pronounce whether the defalcation "had come to pass by carelessness and absence, or covetousness of the warden and fellows."^d

"This verdict, however, was far from giving satisfaction to either of the opposite parties in the chapter-house; for, being each of them implicated in the charge brought before the commissioners, there was no cause on any side for triumph. But Mr Heyrick's pretensions to the wardenship were not to be thus defeated. It was urged, that, as Dr Murray had refused to take the required oath in the sta-

^c "The archbishop's alteration could certainly have no other object than to keep the warden and fellows honest, and to preserve to their successors, in an unimpaired state, the funds of the church. It is curious, however, to hear the comments of Hollingworth, an avowed puritan, and afterwards fellow of the college, upon this measure. 'In this foundation,' he observes, 'to omit lesser alterations, the warden's power is less than formerly, and the power of the fellows greater; the privileges of the tenant, as well as the power of the college, straitened, in that leases could be made only for twenty-one years, not for three lives, as formerly. *This kindled a spark, which afterwards by blowing became a great flame, and was the means of blowing up the college.*' This is certainly the language of discontent, which carries with it the suspicion, that the disqualification in the college to give leases on lives, and thereby to secure considerable fines, was quite as unpleasant to the pure and immaculate Hollingworth, as it would have been to the most greedy pluralist. The writer's last assertion, that this change in the leases proved the means of "blowing up the college" is, to say the least of it, *untrue*."—S. H.

^d "See the preamble to the new charter of foundation inserted in the succeeding pages of this work. The attempt to throw the whole odium of these transactions upon Dr Murray, to the exclusion of the fellows, is most unjust, inasmuch as it is in the face of the verdict which was pronounced. But this has been done by Hollingworth and successive writers. The author of the Accounts of the Wardens, in stating that the church was in a ruinous condition, adds, "but which way to repair or re-edify the same, *he was least solicitous, who should have been most concerned.* The revenues of the college were much impaired, by being leased out by him; and the fellowships, and other places, either kept void, or very ill paid; so that in a great measure *he hook'd most of the revenues to himself.*"

tute, which bound him to a residence in the college, without which he could not enjoy its revenues, he in reality never had been warden at all. This objection certainly carried force with it; and if the commissioners were disposed to accede, they were no doubt influenced by the consideration, that, in declaring Dr Murray never to have been warden, they would render all the leases void which had been given during his wardenship, and thus the sources of revenue would sustain less injury. But a fresh difficulty occurred. By the sentence that declared Dr Murray never to have been warden, it followed that the offices of the fellows who had been appointed under the wardenship were equally forfeited, and that they were rendered completely null and void. But the fierce temper of the zealots, which had been called into activity on this occasion, proved quite sufficient to awe the high church party, even with Archbishop Laud at its head, and was the speedy means of liberating the fellows of the college from their dilemma. The illegality of their appointments during the admitted disqualification of Dr Murray was easily reconciled by the proverbial logic of the law. The commissioners pronounced 'that Richard Murray was non-warden since the first usurping of that name,' but that, 'in the judgment of men skilful in the law, the fellows by him chosen were indeed fellows.' This is as disgraceful a verdict as is to be found in the English history. Dr Murray, however he may have merited censure and penalties for his neglect of the college, acquires our sympathy, as long as the fellows who were proved to have been equally involved with him in the fault with which he had been charged, were allowed to remain unpunished. But the sentence had been forced from the commissioners and lawyers, by the evident dread which the rapid growth of puritanism had inspired, and by the power which it possessed during the wane of monarchy, to awe into compliance the most sacred courts of the realm. 'To reconcile the minds of the people to the gross partiality and injustice of this verdict, no resource was left, except the endeavour to qualify it by obloquies and scurrilities of the lowest kind.'—S. H.

‘As a proof of the virulence with which Dr Murray was attacked, we only need to advert to the very silly gossiping stories told against him, which Hollingworth has very carefully registered. These tales it would be degrading to notice, were it not that they afford the most convincing proofs of the rancorous spirit exerted on this occasion. Hollingworth expects his reader to believe a hacknied calumny, which has been applied to five hundred persons when obloquy had been much wanted, that the warden was jealous of being poisoned by his servants, and that, “if they were discontented at him, he would make ‘em taste before he would eat or drink.” The other stories reputed to the warden’s discredit are pure romance. They are mere jest-book tales, applied in rotation to any public character whom they are intended to fit, and these tales possess in

It is not improbable that the retirement of Dr Murray was followed by the resignation of Mr Ballanquall, afterwards dean of Durham, who was a non-resident fellow of the college, as his name does not appear in the new charter of foundation.^f

A new foundation of the college ensued; the statutes were drawn up, wherein it was provided, that the fines, which accrued for some time, were to be applied to the repairing and beautifying the church, which had become greatly dilapidated.

COPY OF THE FOUNDATION OF THE COLLEGE OF MANCHESTER, BY KING CHARLES THE I. DATED SEPTEMBER 30TH, 1635.

Charles the I. by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To whom these presents shall come, greeting,

Whereas our well beloved and faithful subjects, the gentlemen and others, the parishioners of the town of Manchester, alias Mancaster, in the county palatine of Lancaster, have, in humble manner, proffered many and grievous complaints unto us, that whereas in the aforesaid town of Manchester, alias Mancaster, there is a certain college, consisting of one warden and four fellows, which was founded and endowed by the late Queen Elizabeth of most blessed memory, in the twentieth year of her reign, in which said college, two chaplains, four laymen, and four boys skillful in music, were continually to endure; which college was also erected for that end, that in the church thereof there should be daily prayers solemnly made for us and for our kingdoms; that the sacrament, and other divine service, should be celebrated, and our subjects, the parishioners, which are there to the number of twenty thousand men and more, and other neighbours, might be instructed in the

reality this low and surreptitious origin. "Dr Murray," adds Hollingworth, "preached only twice in Manchester, once on 1st Gen. 1st verse; 'In the beginning,' &c. Another time on 22d Rev. 20; Come Lord Jesus. So it was sayd, that he in preaching begun and ended the Bible.—Nor was he very skillfull in it. Preaching before King James once upon 1 Rom. 18; 'I am not ashamed of the Gospell of Christ.' When he came to kiss the King's hand, his majestie said, 'Thou art not ashamed of the Gospell of Christ, but by ——— the Gospell of Christ may be ashamed of thee.'"—These stories, which proceed with most ill grace from the mouth of a precisian, carry along with them their own confutation.

^f Walter Ballanquall, S. T. P. succeeded to the deanery of Durham, being installed May 14th 1639. He died December 25th, 1645, and was buried in Chirke Church, Denbigh, where a monument was raised to his memory by Sir Thomas Middleton, which recounts his loyal deeds manifested during the civil wars. Willis, Vol. I. page 255.

duties of piety towards God, and obedience towards us, and of honest life and conversation towards one another.

Nevertheless, whether it came to pass by carelessness and absence, or covetousness of the warden and fellows, the greatest part of the revenues of the said college is by certain private men withholden and wrongfully usurped, so that the just stipend was not in readiness for the fellows, chaplains, and the rest of the ministers in the same.

And furthermore, so great danger from the church itself, that was ready to fall, did hang over the heads of them that entered thereinto, that many parishioners durst hardly fetch thence the spiritual food of their souls for the danger of their bodies, whereupon the fellows, being destitute of necessities for their living, did also fear that the people would be shortly destitute of the eldership itself, except we would vouchsafe abundant grace, which they did most humbly beseech, to afford remedy to so many and so great evils.

We being careful of piety, and likewise of the truth, nor willingly suffering that either our subjects or the college of our so famous ancestors, in loyalty erected, should travail under so great injuries, have committed the whole matter to our most faithful privy counsellors, the most reverend Father in God, William, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and metropolitan, Thomas Lord Coventry of Aylesbury, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England, and Henry Earl of Manchester, Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, to be thoroughly examined; who, after all things were thoroughly preserved, which could be herein said, have found the miseries of the college are not unequal to the complaints, or verily greater, and that they are altogether let in by the warden, or at least chiefly by his default.

It seemed, therefore, to us a matter worthy to be committed to the examination of our commissioners in ecclesiastical causes; who, after grave deliberation and due examination had therein, did proceed in due order of law against the warden, he being before challenged personally to answer: And for these and other grievous causes before-mentioned, they have removed the warden from the office and place of a warden, by whom furthermore it hath been manifested, that he the said warden hath wittingly abstained from a certain oath expressed in the letters-patent of the said Queen concerning the not receiving of any rents for the college, except for the days in which he was present, which being not performed, neither could he be warden: Wherefore, and for divers other causes appearing to the same commissioners, they have pronounced him non-warden since the first usurping of that name.

Howbeit the fellows by him chosen were indeed fellows in the judgment of men skilful in the law.

The said college [is therefore] altogether dissolved, or truly hath none, or else a very uncertain foundation, wherefore the aforesaid lords have humbly supplicated us, that we, for the continuation and restoration of the same college, would vouchsafe to anew and afresh erect, found, and establish the same.

Know ye, therefore, that, for the piety we have toward God and his church, and charity towards our subjects, and singular care for their holy instructions, willingly and graciously agreeing to such a supplication, we of our special grace, and certain knowledge, for us, our heirs, and successors, do will, grant, and ordain, that by virtue of these letters-patent, there either may or shall be in the aforesaid town of Manchester one college, in all future time perpetually to endure, which shall be called CHRIST'S COLLEGE IN MANCHESTER, FOUNDED BY KING CHARLES THE FIRST.

And we have decreed that college to be ordained, created, and established, to consist of one warden at least, bachelor in divinity, or of canonical or civil laws, and four fellows at the least, master of arts, or bachelor of laws, as aforesaid, godly, honest, and learned men, able holily to instruct our subjects there, and in places near adjoining.

And we do erect, create, ordain, found, and establish the same college, by the tenor of these presents, really and fully for ever to continue; our command by these presents, stedfastly and for ever, inviolably to be observed.

And to the intent the aforesaid college may be set forth and replenished with fit persons, in all their several places and degrees, we do make and ordain, and by these presents constitute our well-beloved Richard Heyrick, first warden of the said perpetual college, William Bourn, Samuel Boardman, Richard Johnson, and Peter Shaw, first fellows of the said perpetual college.

And we will, and by these presents do ordain and grant, for our heirs and successors, that the aforesaid warden and fellows of the college aforesaid, and their successors in every respect, in deed and in name, henceforth may and shall be one body corporate and politic, of themselves for ever, by the name of THE WARDEN AND FELLOWS OF CHRIST'S COLLEGE IN MANCHESTER, FOUNDED, INCORPORATED, AND ERECTED BY KING CHARLES: and them, the warden and fellows of Christ's College in Manchester, founded by King Charles and their successors, we incorporate by these presents, and do really and fully create, erect, ordain, make, constitute, and by these presents establish a body corporate and politic of the same name, for ever to endure.

And we do will, and by these presents ordain and grant, for us, our heirs, and successors, that the same warden and fellows of Christ's College in Manchester, founded by King Charles, have perpetual succession, and by the same be, and shall be fit persons, apt and able to have, diligently to search, to receive, and possess the goods, chattels, manors, temporaries, messuages, tenements, meadows, feeding-pastures, rectories, tythes, proctorships, ecclesiastical rents, reversions, services, and other hereditaments whatsoever, as well of us, our heirs, and successors, as of any other person, as well spiritual as temporal, or of any other person whatsoever, for themselves and their successors, for term of life, lives, or years, either in fee or perpetuity, and to do all and several other things and matters to be done.

And further, we do will, and, for us and our successors, by these presents do grant, unto these our said warden and fellows of Christ's College in Manchester, founded by King Charles, and to their successors, that from henceforth they have, and shall have, a common seal to serve for their business, and other matters expressed and specified in these our letters-patent, touching or concerning any parcel thereof; and that they and their successors, by the name of the warden and fellows of Christ's College in Manchester, founded by King Charles, may and shall be able to plead and implead, to prosecute, defend, and to be defended, to answer, and to be answered unto, in and all several causes, complaints, actions, real and personal, of what kind or nature soever, in any place, or in any court, or in the places or courts of our heirs and successors, and in the places and courts of any other whatsoever, before any justices and judges, ecclesiastical and secular, whatsoever, or any other person whatsoever, within our kingdom of England, and to act and undertake them, and all and every other thing as fully as, and in the same measure, as any other our liege people, fit persons, and in the law able, or any other body or bodies corporate or politic, within the same our realm of England, shall do, or shall be able to do, in the courts and places aforesaid, and before the justices and judges aforesaid.

We do also will, constitute, and by these presents ordain, that whensoever, and as often as by the death of the aforesaid Richard Heyrick, now the first warden of the aforesaid college, or by any other means whatsoever, it shall happen that the office and place of warden hereafter be void, that in his room shall succeed and be a warden, [one who is] at least bachelor in divinity or of law as aforesaid; and that of us, our heirs, and successors, from time to time, he shall by name perfectly, by letters sealed with our great seal of England, our heirs and successors, [succeed] to a presentation being made to the Reverend Father in

God, the Bishop of Chester at the time existent, who shall take diligent heed that the appointed clerk so named by us be canonically instituted, and installed into the **WARDENSHIP** or **DEANSHIP** ^s of that church.

And whensoever, and as often as by death, or by any other means, it shall happen that the place of any fellow be void, we will, and by these presents ordain, that some fellow and learned preacher succeed and be in his room, [one who is at] the least master of arts, or bachelor of law, as is aforesaid, who shall be chosen, and by letters sealed with the common seal of the same college, declared a fellow of the aforesaid college by the warden and the rest of the fellows or their successors, or the greatest part or number of them, of whom we will that the warden be one ; and we command that this election of a fellow into a room, however void, be made within thirty days after the vacation shall be known to the warden and the rest of the fellows ; and we also will that the fellows of the aforesaid college of Christ in Manchester, founded by King Charles, shall be so chosen and declared ; and we for ever do name, make, ordain, and constitute them, and every of them, in form aforesaid, chosen and declared, and their successors in the same manner to be chosen and declared **FELLOWS** of the aforesaid Christ's College in Manchester, founded by King Charles ; and by these presents do incorporate them in the same Christ's College in Manchester, founded by King Charles.

Further, we will and appoint that there be two chaplains or vicars continually in the aforesaid college, at the least bachelors of arts, and clerks which visit the sick, celebrate the sacraments, and other necessary and divine services in the said college and parish of Manchester, and shall minister every day in the church of the said college, except so far as they shall be dispensed with by the warden and fellows ; and also that there be continually in the said college four men, whether clerks or laymen, four boys skilful in music, which may perform prayers and other divine services in the said Collegiate Church.

And we will, and appoint for this course, and at the time only, that Edmund Hopwood and Robert Brown be the first chaplains in the office of the college and parish of Manchester to celebrate divine service ; and that Charles Leigh the elder, (William) John Leigh, Peter Starkey, and Charles Leigh the younger, be the men, or clerks, or laymen, skilful in music ; and that Charles Leigh, Jonathan Ridge, George Warburton, and Edmund Hall, be the first boys to serve in the College Church and Parish of Manchester.

^s The word *deanship* being introduced into the last charter shows that the warden's title of *dean* was not extinct. The proper title of the warden *at the present day* is **WARDEN OF CHRIST'S COLLEGE, MANCHESTER, AND DEAN OF THE DEANERY OF MANCHESTER.**

And whensoever, and so often as by death, or otherwise, it shall happen that the place of any chaplain or vicar, or of any other man skilful in music, or of any boy through change of voice, or otherwise be void, we will that another or others be chosen and named after the like manner, by the said warden and fellows, and their successors, or by the greater part and number of them, of whom we will that the warden be one, who may from time to time succeed into the vacant room.

We do also constitute and will, that there be in the same college continually a sub-warden, a treasurer or purser, a collector, a register, a master of the choristry, an instructor, an organist, a bailiff, after the like manner to be chosen by the warden and fellows, and their successors, or by the greater part or number of them, from time to time, yearly, in some general day of account, twenty days or thereabouts before the feast day of the Nativity of our Lord ; and that the sub-warden, treasurer, and gatherer, be of the number of the fellows ; the other afore-said officers to be chosen for ever, [and] to be of the rest of the collegiates. The warden also, and the fellows and their successors, may at other times also chuse such officiaries, if by death or otherwise it shall happen that any of those places be void, and not otherwise. We permit and allow, and also grant to the warden and fellows, and other successors, power to describe, assign, and limit the nature and quality of such officers, and to determine how much and what wages they shall have.

But because we have of late certainly understood that the college founded by Queen Elizabeth hath sustained most grievous losses and evils, either by the neglect or fraud and deceit of the wardens, who, that either their gains might increase, or that they might more securely adventure any thing by right or wrong, have, in the defect of fellows, refused to call a chapter, or to chuse fellows or other collegiates and officers into the vacant rooms, so that for many years together the places of the fellows, chaplains, laymen, and choristers, have remained void, to the disgrace of the divine worship, and detriment of the college and the parishioners, we appoint, ordain, and will, that within thirty days after that any fellow's, chaplain's, layman's, chorister's, or officer's place shall be void, the warden at the time existent, and having knowledge thereof, shall be bound to assemble the heads for the choosing of a new fellow or chaplain, or layman, or chorister, or officer whatsoever [he may be,] either by himself or by his proctor, and him [the proctor] to be one of the fellows, and that under the pain of removing him from the place and office of a warden, (*ipso facto* ;) and that he certify three days before the election be held to the rest of the fellows concerning the business to be accomplished, [and that] so many as are known to be within the parish form a chapter ;

and we will, that under the same penalty aforesaid, the warden at the time existent shall be bound with his own voice also to confirm and choose him or them into the void place of a fellow, chaplain, layman, clerk, or chorister, or other officer whatsoever, who hath more voices in the chapter-house on his side ; we will also, in any business of the college whatsoever, that the greater number of the voices prevail, and that the warden existent at the time ratify and confirm those things which are contended for of the greater number ; and because of the fellows remaining [who vote,] it is hard to suppose but that one at the least in every election will, in the giving of voices, consent with the warden, whereupon the number of voices will be equal on both sides, we will, and do appoint, that whensoever and as often as two or more suing for one and the same place of a fellow being void, do strive betwixt themselves with an equal number of voices, if no man within two months time shall be elected in the vacant place, it shall be lawful for us, and our heirs and successors, to choose and name a fellow, some master of arts, or bachelor of laws, and he so chosen or named shall be a fellow.

We will also, and grant for us, our heirs, and successors, that the Bishop of Chester and his successors, have power and licence to visit the said college, and to inquire concerning the observation of the statutes, and to correct manners and excess in the chapter-house of the said college every third year, according to common law ; and moreover, [that he visit the said college] so often as for some grievous causes he shall be desired by the warden and one of the fellows, or by all the fellows, the warden himself being against it.

We institute also that every fellow publicly, after his election, shall take an oath, touching [with his hand] the holy Gospel, that he will perform due reverence to the warden ; and every chaplain shall take the same oath to perform due reverence to the warden and fellows, and the inferiors, whatsoever [they may be,] to the superiors.

We do appoint also, ordain, and will, that the warden and fellows and their successors, quickly after their installing, shall bind themselves by oath before the rest of the fellows, that they be willing to promote the public good of the college by what lawful means soever they shall be able ; to observe the statutes of the college ; to conceal the secrets of the chapter-house ; and mutually to uphold their own honour and conduct, and those of each of the collegiates, according to their places and degrees ; we will also, that the same oath be taken of the sub-warden, the treasurer, the purser, the gatherer, the registerer, and bailiff, and another oath for the faithful discharge of their duties.

Furthermore, we give by these presents, to the warden, sub-warden, and fellows

respectively, for the time being, power and licence to receive all oaths which are to be taken by the said warden and fellows, and the rest of the collegiates and officers and their successors from time to time.

And further, that this our intention may have better effect, and that our college may have sufficient rents and revenues yearly arising and increasing, whereby it may satisfy its own, their, and every of their necessities, according to their places and degrees, know ye, that we of our special grace, and certain knowledge, have given and granted, and by these presents, for us, our heirs, and successors, do give and grant unto the aforesaid warden and fellows of Christ's College in Manchester, founded by King Charles, and their successors for ever, all these our sixty messuages, tenements, burgages, and cottages, with the appurtenances, in Manchester, Newton, Deansgate, and Kirkmanshulme, within the parish of Manchester aforesaid, in the aforesaid county, heretofore or lately in the several tenures or occupations of Nicholas Bagguley, John Kenyon, Edward Pendleton, Elizabeth Beech, widow, Hugh Hartley, Thomas Buerdsell, Robert Hulme, Richard Whittworth, George Reddish, George Smith, Hugh Hall, Stephen Hall, Randolph Kemp, Adam Holland, Nicholas Bowker, John Whittworth, George Reddish, Roger Smith, James Dawson, Nicholas Hutchinson, John Smith, Ralph Whittworth, James Barlow, Edward Boardman, Sir John Byron, Knight, Thomas Hall, Richard Beswick, Thomas Kenyon, Ralph Marlor, Robert Leigh, Elizabeth Kenyon, Nicholas Percival, Edward Trafford, William Owin, George Traviss, Richard Webster, Edward Haworth, Richard Harrison, Thomas Smith, James Riddlestone, Anthony Sheppard, Henry Barrows, James Smith, George Rawlinson, Edward Blomely, Hamnett Renshaw, Robert Gimney, John Cowper, John Browfield, John Norrice, James Glover, Ralph Bibby for Knotts, John Marlor, Edward Sorrocold, James Woalsencroft, Thomas Hilton, Hugh Boardman, Peter Darbyshire, the wife of Richard Hartley, the wife of Richard Dawson, the wife of Thomas Dawson, Adam Byrom, George Proudlove, Magdalene Percival, the wife some time of Thomas Nevinson, Adam Pilkington, Reynold Winington, or of some of them, or their assigns, or the assigns of them : and also one parcel of land with the appurtenances in Manchester aforesaid, which is called the parsonage croft, containing by estimation two acres, heretofore or lately in the tenure or occupation of Henry, Earl of Derby, and his assigns ; and one parcel of land with the appurtenances in Newton aforesaid, which is called the Scotland Croft, heretofore or lately in the possession of John Whittworth or his assigns ; certain inclosures with the appurtenances in Newton aforesaid, containing by estimation nine acres of land, heretofore or lately in the tenure or occupation of George Beech or his as-

signs ; one parcel of land with the appurtenances in Newton aforesaid, heretofore or lately in the tenure or occupation of Randle Kemp or his assigns ; one parcel of land in Newton aforesaid, with the appurtenances, heretofore or lately in the occupation of Sir John Byron or his assigns ; one messuage called the Guilthouse, heretofore or lately in the tenure or occupation of Thomas Traviss or his assigns ; two messuages in Salford, near the White Cross, heretofore or lately in the tenure or occupation of Randle Holden or his assigns ; one parcel of land called the Little Riddings ; and two parcels of meadow land in Salford, heretofore in the tenure or occupation of Katherine Torkington, widow, or her assigns ; and also certain free rents, customs, and services issuing out of divers lands or tenements heretofore or lately belonging to Sir John Byron, Thomas Beck, Ralph Holden, John Booth, Reynold Winington, and to the sons and heirs of Ralph Kellshall or their assigns, or the assigns of them or some of them, or of the lands or tithe corn in time past, in the tenure or occupation of Robert Langley ; and also all and every of the tithes yearly increasing, renewing, and growing in Manchester aforesaid, and in Broughton, Chetham, Chorlton, Tettlaw, Hulme near Manchester, Didsbury, Withington, Salford, Levenshulme, Openshaw, Trafford, Stretford, Chorlton, Barlow, Hulme near Stockport, Clayton, Failsworth, Blackley, Droylsden, *alias* Droysdale, Moston, Ancoats, Gorton, Beswiok, Reddish, Denton, Houghton, Houghsend, and Harpurhey, Kersale, Kirkmanshulme, Bradford, Ardwick, Rushhulme, Crumsall, Highfield, Newton, Burnage, Ordsale, Hardy, Houghpark, Collyhurst, Clayton, Hopwood, Cleyden, Heaton Norris, in our county of Lancaster, and all other tithes whatsoever, growing and renewing in the parish of Manchester or elsewhere, lately and in times past belonging to the college of Manchester ; and also all tithes of lambs, calves, hay, flax, hemp, and all and singular the mortuaries, Easter dues, and small tithes offering, yearly arising in Manchester or within the parish of Manchester aforesaid, heretofore in the several tenures or occupations of Alexander Barlow, Ralph Hurlstone or others ; and also two messuages with the appurtenances, in Dunham Massie, in our county of Chester, even now lately in the tenure or occupation of William Booth, Esq., Sir George Booth, Knight and Baronet, or of William Booth, son of the aforesaid George or their assigns, or any of them, being a late parcel of the possession of the late college of Manchester ; and all and singular our manors, messuages, milne-lands, tenements, meadows, feedings and pastures, marshes, woods, underwoods, water-pools, paths, rents, revenues, services, rectories, vicarages, churches, the church itself, called in times past St Mary's Church, in Manchester, with all chapels of the same church, chaplains, offices, obit-lands, pensions, tithes, offerings, lotteries,

proctorships, free gifts, dispositions, rights, profits, and rectories, vicarages, advowsons of churches and other benefices and offices whatsoever, court leets, enfranchises, pledges, fees, free warrens, and all things to enfranchisements, pledges, and free warrens belonging or appertaining, or that hereafter might happen to belong or appertain; the goods and chattels of all weals and strays, of felons, fugitives, and the goods and (chattels) estates of all condemned persons, and all other rights, jurisdictions, franchisements, liberties, privileges, profits, commodities, emoluments, possessions, reversions, and other hereditaments whatsoever, with their appurtenances, as well spiritual as temporal, of what kind, nature, or form soever they shall be, or by what name soever they shall be discerned or known in Manchester aforesaid, in the said county of Lancaster, or in any other place whatsoever, as well in the same county of Lancaster as in any other county place within our realm of England, which by the aforesaid Queen Elizabeth by her letters-patent, bearing date the 18th of July, in the 27th year of her reign, were granted or mentioned to be granted to the warden and fellows of Christ's College in Manchester, founded by Queen Elizabeth, and to their successors; or which have been granted or mentioned to be granted by King Philip and Queen Mary, late King and Queen of England, by their letters-patent bearing date the 13th day of July, in the 3d or 4th year of their reign, to the master or keeper and fellow chaplains of the college of the blessed Mary of Manchester, in the county of Lancaster, of the foundation of Philip and Mary, King and Queen of England, and to their successors; or which did appertain or belong lately, or in times past, to the said college, or to the said warden and fellows, or either of them, late of the said Christ's College in Manchester, founded by Queen Elizabeth; or lately or heretofore to the master or keeper and fellow chaplains, late of the said college of the blessed Mary in Manchester, in the county of Lancaster, of the foundation of Philip and Mary, King and Queen of England; or to the fellow chaplains of the same college and parish, or to any or some of them before the date of these letters-patent; [or which] by right or pretence, may be lately or at any time belonging to the said foundations or either of them, or to the fellows or chaplains; or by any manner of way to the masters or keepers, and fellow chaplains of the said college, of the foundation of Philip and Mary, and to the wardens and fellows of the said college, of the foundation of Queen Elizabeth, or other the officers of the same, or some or any of them; or which heretofore have been had as a member, part or parcel of the lands or possessions or reversions of the same college, late or in times past, or of the master or keeper, or of the fellow chaplains, or of the warden and fellows, or of other officers of the same college, late or in times past, or of any of them heretofore, and have

been had, known, accepted, used or reputed, by what right or title soever, and which are or have been seized, by whatsoever right, or title, or interest they have had. [And we grant] therefrom to the wardens and fellows of Christ's College in Manchester, founded by King Charles, and to their successors for ever, to have, hold, and enjoy, all and singular the manors, messuages, lands, tenements, rents, revenues, services, hereditaments, churches, chapels, abbey lands, tythes, liberties, franchises, privileges, and all and singular the premises by these presents above granted, with all their appurtenances aforesaid, to the proper necessity and use of the same warden and fellows of Christ's College in Manchester, founded by King Charles, and of their successors for ever, to be holden from us, our heirs and successors, for a free, pure, and perpetual alms for all services and demands whatsoever.

We determine, order, and will, that the aforesaid warden and fellows, chaplains and men, or clerks or laymen skilful in music, and boys and every of them, which shall be assumed and chosen into the said college, shall receive all such and so great a stipend of the fruits and rents of the said college as shall yearly increase unto the same ; but when the revenues of the college shall be augmented, the dismission of the tithes being ended, all of them, for the most part, may hope for and have an increase of their wages, that is to say, the warden shall receive L. 70 yearly, every one of the fellows severally L. 35 yearly, of the rents of the college, every chaplain L. 17, 10s. yearly, and whatsoever besides shall be due for the solemnizing of marriages (saving always the rights of parish clerks) and those other small profits which the chaplains have heretofore been accustomed to have in Queen Elizabeth's foundation, for the performing of certain offices in the church ; every man, whether clerk or layman, shall receive and have L. 10 yearly : every boy skilful in music L. 5 yearly.

And whereas [we will that] a demission or demissions of tythes expressed in certain writings or indentures, between Richard Murray, late reputed warden of Christ's College in Manchester, founded by Queen Elizabeth, and the fellows of the said college on the one part, and Thomas Fenshaw, Esq. another, and others whose names were inserted to the use and profit of the said Richard, on the other part, shall be ended or evacuated.

Otherwise [moreover ?] we will that the warden and fellows aforesaid and their successors, receive increase of yearly increased rents and reversions of the college, yet so as that every one of the fellows particularly, have only one-half portion (when compared with that of) the warden, or that the warden surpass any one fellow's portion in a double portion, which proportion, we will, that it be observed in receiving the former profits.

We determine also and will, that neither the warden, nor any of the fellows, shall receive any profit of the fines or demissions whatsoever, until the collegiate church, as far as belongeth unto the college, (according to the dignity and honour of the place,) be repaired ; and that then there be provided a house or houses where the warden and fellows, and their successors, may dwell, either together or asunder ; yet because Samuel Boardman and Richard Johnson, two clerks and fellows of the aforesaid college, have bestowed much labour, time, and money, in following the cause of the aforesaid college, and for the common good of the collegiates, it shall be lawful for the said lords to bestow upon the said fellows whatsoever they shall think good of the fines aforesaid, for their expences in the college cause.

We will also, that the chaplains, men, or clerks, laymen, boys, have increase according to the sound discretion of the warden and fellows.

We do determine also, ordain, and will, that no tithes whatsoever be demised to any person or persons whatsoever, the fines being first taken to the diminishing of the yearly value or price of tithes, which otherwise might come to the use of the college.

We determine and will, that no demissions of messuages and tenements whatsoever hereafter to be granted, be made for any longer time than for the term of twenty-one years in possession, and not for term of lives whatsoever, and if the warden or any fellow shall do otherwise, that he be removed from the college for that deed.

And whereas in the foundation as well of Philip and Mary, the King and Queen of England, as of the Lady Elizabeth, late Queen of England, of blessed memory, the college hath taken great losses by the absence of the keeper, or warden or wardens, which nevertheless being absent, nor performing any office of a warden, have drawn unto them a great part of the revenues of the said college ; we do determine, therefore ordain, and will, that the warden and fellows, and their successors, do continually reside and live in the town or parish of Manchester, or in the house or houses collegiate, which quickly and by the same shall be provided.

We will, that the warden on several great feast days, viz. the Nativity of our Lord, Easter-day, and Whitsunday, and the feast of the Ascension, shall in due manner celebrate solemn prayers in the Collegiate Church of Manchester ; that the fellows do also perform their office by course, all the Lord's Days, except some or any of them be sick, or be withholden by the college business, or shall be ordained to be executed by these letters-patent, or by some other reasonable cause ; we determine also, that the warden make a sermon to the people in the church aforesaid, at the several said great feast days, and every fellow, every month by course, on the

Lord's Day, which duty, if the warden in his duty shall neglect to perform, he shall lose ten shillings of his yearly stipend, to be paid by the treasurer or purse-bearer, which shall be keeper of the rents, to any fellow or any other whosoever maketh the sermon instead of the warden ; and if a fellow shall neglect his course of preaching, he shall lose so often of his annual wages, 6s. 8d. after the same manner, to be paid to a fellow or any other whosoever shall supply in his stead, yet always provided that the warden and fellows, or any of them so present in the college, or in the church, may permit, for humanity's sake, that any stranger, being a learned divine, and honest and obedient to the discipline of the church of England, supply his course of preaching, [when he] shall not in the meantime be fined in any fine.

We also determine, ordain, and will, that for every day on which the warden and fellows and their successors, or any of them at all shall not be present in the town or parish of Manchester, so that he cannot, being sought for, visit any sick person or persons, or perform other offices of piety and charity in the said parish, the warden shall so often lose of his whole annual stipend, 2s. 8d. to be paid by the treasurer to the poor of the town and parish, and every fellow for every day so often as he shall not be in the town or parish aforesaid, shall lose for every day 1s. 4d. to be paid after the same manner to the poor of the town and parish, &c.

We will, that the warden and fellows, before they be able to give their voice in the chapter-house, bind themselves by oath that they will verily observe the statutes of perpetual residence, or, in case of violation, to willingly submit to the penalty thereof, and that they will not seek for a dispensation from this oath, to be or already taken from us or our successors, or use such offered dispensations, under the pain of perjury, and removing from the college (*ipso facto* ;) and that they will make known unto the treasurer or bursar how many days they have been absent more than those that are excepted by these letters-patent ; yet nevertheless we except from the preceding statute one hundred days every year together, or by space to be taken in, which we permit the warden to be absent, while he goeth about his necessary business, and in the meantime, not to sustain the loss of 2s. 8d. We do also allow unto every one of the fellows severally, eighty days every year, to be numbered as above, and to be excepted from the preceding statute, in which it shall be lawful for any of the fellows to be absent, nor in the meantime to sustain the loss of 1s. 4d. per day. Moreover, if the warden or any fellow shall be sick, or employed in the business of the college by the consent of the warden and chapter, their stipend shall not be diminished by any such fine, although they be absent.

And whereas we have understood that it is long since certain copies and muniments, evidences, and indentures concerning the lands, tenements, possessions, and hereditaments of the said college, (or at least touching some part or parcel of them) have been taken out of the common chest of the college, and that it is very uncertain whether all the said copies will at any time be wholly restored; we determine and will that such muniments, indentures, and evidences, together with these our letters-patent, with the chapter-house deeds, also with all other whatsoever which it behoveth to be safely kept, be shut up in the common chest, with three locks at the least, the keys whereof the warden and fellows senior and their successors shall keep; the warden one, the two fellows one and the other; and we will that none of the aforesaid writings be taken out of the aforesaid chest hereafter, without the consent of the whole chapter, nor taken out of the aforesaid chest, to be kept longer than the space of one month, without leave already obtained from the Bishop of Chester; every one of which we will that it be restored at the time appointed by him; and if any, either the warden or fellows, shall do otherwise, he shall be punished according to the pleasure of the said bishop at the time existent.

We will also and grant to the Bishop of Chester, licence and power to approve whatsoever statutes the warden and fellows shall hereafter make for the good of the college, to be observed of them and their successors; which we will that hereafter they be observed, until they be abrogated by an equal, or by our own authority; we grant further by these presents, unto the warden and fellows for the time existent, such power of concerting and making statutes, so they are not contrary to these our statutes.

And moreover, of our abundant grace and certain knowledge aforesaid, we give, and by these presents grant to the aforesaid warden and fellows of Christ's College in Manchester, founded by King Charles, and their successors, special licence, free and lawful authority to receive, have, and require, to them and their successors, after the date of these presents, for ever, over and besides the premises granted by these presents, as well of us, our heirs, and successors, as of any other person or persons whatsoever, the manors, messuages, rents, reversions, services, and other hereditaments, with the appurtenances within our realm of England, or elsewhere within our dominions, which are not immediately holden of us, our heirs, and successors *in capite*, or otherwise by knight's service, so that they exceed not the clear yearly value of L. 100, besides all charges and reprints, according to the ancient value of the same, to the aforesaid warden and fellows of Christ's College in Manchester, founded by King Charles, and to their successors, to have, hold,

and enjoy the same in manner of mortmain ; any statute, proviso, restriction, or ordinance, published, ordained, or made to the contrary, or any other thing, cause, or matter whatsoever, in any wise notwithstanding, and that without any other brief or briefs, *de ad quod damnum*, or any other licences, or any other letters-patent, inquisitions, or king's mandates, or without any other inquisition upon any brief *de ad quod damnum*, or any other briefs or mandates from our heirs or successors, in the behalf to be made, had, and presented, impetrated, taken, and executed, without impeachment, molestation, hinderance, or perturbation of us, our heirs, and successors, justices, sheriffs, coroners, bailiffs, or any other ministers, their heirs or successors whatsoever ; and without fines for licences to mortmain, or otherwise to alienate ; [and without] any other fine whatsoever, &c. &c.

We will, nevertheless, and by these presents do grant, for our heirs and successors, that it shall be lawful for the aforesaid warden and fellows of Christ's College in Manchester, founded by King Charles, and their successors, to make diligent search of the houses, and some other lands, tenements, and hereditaments whatsoever, long since belonging to the College of Manchester, in the county of Lancaster, by act of Parliament, in the first year of our dear brother Edward the Sixth, granted to the same, albeit they be holden of us, our heirs, and successors, *in capite*, or in knight's service, the statute of lands in mortmain, or any other cause or thing to the contrary notwithstanding, and this without any brief *de ad quod damnum*, fine or fee.

And further, of our more abundant grace, for us, our heirs, and successors, we will, and by these presents grant to the aforesaid warden and fellows of Christ's College in Manchester aforesaid, founded by King Charles, and to their successors, that they in like manner may have and require for themselves and their successors, all and singular the lands and tenements which now do belong to the School in Manchester aforesaid ; and further, the house heretofore collegiate, two acres of land or thereabouts lying to the same, with the appurtenances, although they be held of us, our heirs, or successors, *in capite*, or in knight's service, the statute of not putting land into mortmain, or any other thing, cause, or matter to the contrary notwithstanding.

And in like manner we give and grant by these presents, for us, our heirs, and successors, licence to any person or persons, that they, by the tenure of these presents, may give, grant, and alienate to the aforesaid warden and fellows of Christ's College in Manchester aforesaid, founded by King Charles, and to their successors.

We will also, and grant to the aforesaid warden and fellows of Christ's Col-

lege, in Manchester aforesaid, founded by King Charles, and to their successors, that they may and shall have these letters-patent under our great seal of England made and sealed, without fines or fee, great or little, to be made, delivered, or restored to us in our court, or elsewhere, for our use therefore in any wise, because of express mention, &c.

In witness whereof, &c.

Dated under our privy seal, the last day of September, at our palace at Westminster, in the eleventh year of our reign.

CHARLES REX.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE EARLIER ANNALS OF THE WARDENSHIP OF RICHARD HEYRICK, FELLOW OF ALL-SOULS, OXFORD, &c. FROM A. D. 1636 TO 1646, THE PERIOD WHEN THE ESTABLISHMENT TOOK PLACE IN MANCHESTER OF THE PRESBYTERIAN FORM OF CHURCH GOVERNMENT.

Drawn up by Dr HIBBERT.

RICHARD HEYRICK, the third son of Sir William Heyrick of Beaumanor, in the county of Lincoln, was born in London. He received his rudiments of education at Merchant Taylors' School. At the age of twenty he took the degree of Master of Arts, and in 1624 was elected fellow of All-Soul's College in Oxford. Upon entering into holy orders, he had a benefice in Norfolk conferred upon him, in which county he contracted a marriage with Helen, daughter of Thomas Corbet of Spranston. His father, as it has been explained (page 141) obtained for him, as a compromise for certain claims upon the Royal Exchequer, the reversion of the wardenship of Manchester College, to which, at the age of thirty-six, he came into possession.

The fellows on King Charles's foundation were William Bourne, Samuel Boardman, Richard Johnson, and Peter Shaw. Edmund Hopwood and Robert Brown were chaplains.

The first year of the wardenship of Richard Heyrick was signalized by the munificent bequest for charitable purposes of certain lands possessed by a wealthy inhabitant of the town. In 1636, George Clarke conveyed to fourteen persons and their heirs, all his lands in Manchester, Crumpsall, and Tetlow, subject to

a rent-charge of twenty-two shillings in trust, that the clear yearly rents and profits should be applied, at the discretion of the boroughreeve, two constables, and one of the church-wardens, in the relief of poor, aged, and infirm people dwelling in Manchester : when ten of the trustees shall die, the survivors to choose their successors ; the lands to be let to farm from year to year at the best yearly profit, and the accounts of the trust every Michaelmas to be submitted to the jury of the court-leet of the town and manor of Manchester.

In the same year Charles Haworth left L. 10, a moiety of the interest to be given to Salford Chapel, and the other moiety to the poor.^a

A. D. 1638, the warden and fellows denied themselves their ecclesiastical emoluments, devoting the fines, which were due upon the renewals of the tenants' leases, to be applied to the repairs of the church. The two side aisles were, therefore, in this year taken down, rebuilt, embattled, and adorned with pinnacles. In the front of the gallery over the baptismal font the arms of King Charles the First, with his initials C. R. were placed. This was done out of respect to the sovereign, as the granter of the new foundation of the church.

It will now be expedient to advert to the general feature of the times when Warden Heyrick entered on the functions of his sacred office.

The real distinction of the puritans consisted, as we have shown, in their rooted and deadly hatred to all tenets and rites that were adopted by the papists, and in their resolution to profess no doctrine or ceremony in common with them, the slightest perceptible similarity being considered as pollution. Warden Heyrick yielded to none of the Godly in professions of enmity to the church of Rome, but he did not concur with them in opinion, that the church of England clung to so many of the defilements of popery as to form a fit subject for puritanic denunciation. On the contrary, he vented his indignation against the papists, and indeed against other sects, for so wilfully misconstruing the creeds and articles of the English ritual, as to suppose they could be identified with their own pernicious doctrines. " There have been strange batteries," he complains, " that have been made upon our religion. The thirty-nine articles are challenged by the harlot. Papists and Arminians claim them as theirs."¹

It is thus evident that Mr Heyrick at the commencement of his wardenship was far from identifying himself with the more rigid and scrupulous of the puritans,

^a Account of Public Charities, digested and arranged from the reports of his Majesty's Commissioners on charitable foundations. London, A. D. 1827.

¹ Dedication prefixed to three sermons preached at the Collegiate Church, Manchester, &c. London, printed by T. B. for L. Fawne, 1641.

and he would have failed in his popularity among them, were it not for the unfearing manner in which he declaimed against popery from the pulpit. His addresses to his congregation to "come out of Babylon," breathe a spirit of rancour and violence which it is difficult to explain, without taking into consideration the actual state of sectarian feeling which then prevailed. The ancient and determined opposition made to the Roman Catholics of Lancashire had only served to render them as a body more united, and to encourage them to retort upon their adversaries by employing jesuits and other secret missionaries, armed with specious arguments to bring back Protestants once more within the pale of papacy. Partial success had attended their exertions ; for it must be recollected that a few of the leading men of the county, as Sir Cecyll Trafford and others, had gone over to the Papists. "The Man of Sin," exclaimed Mr Heyrick, "hath of late years revived among us:—it may be a lightning before death. The mass hath outfaced our Christian meetings. Jesuits have jeered our ministers, and confuted and abused authority. Manchester, the Goshen accounted in this Egypt, is of late years darkened with the blackness of it. Some of our prime men in dignity, authority, and power, have revolted to them. Their example commands many. Great men have followers of their vices as of their persons, and when they please to be idolatrous, their children, servants, tenants, their poor kindred, and idolizing neighbours, will to the mass with them. One special cause of this increase of popery is the vastness and greatness of many parishes preferred to the trust of such as have added church unto church, themselves residing at neither ; or, if they should be with their people, are non-resident in the midst of them, yea too often when they are in the pulpit. These mother-churches have many daughters, seven, eight, nine chapels subject to them, to which belongs no certain or no competent maintenance."

But to continue our history.—The formidable exertions made by the Papists of Lancashire to increase their number, and the imposing attitude which they assumed, may be well supposed to have had a tendency to increase the number of Puritans, particularly as this sect boasted of no other distinction than the greater degree of remoteness with which they stood severed from the contact and influence of antichristian Rome. When puritanic doctrines, therefore, met with acceptance under these pretensions, they were found to be eminently calculated to keep alive the bitter spirit of enmity which was excited against the Roman Catholics, and in time they so extensively prevailed as to have the effect of enlisting nearly the whole of the Protestant force of the county in one common cause against the Papists. Hence we may conceive what has been affirmed of Lancashire at the commencement of the great rebellion, that scarcely any orthodox member of the church of

England was to be found in it, but that it was composed of the two great political-ly obnoxious sects the Papists and the Puritans. Warden Heyrick has given a similar testimony, though couched in words that border upon profaneness. "I was but lately," he has observed, "removed into these parts, when one of special note forewarned me I should be crucified as Christ was, between two thieves, the Papist and the Puritan."

This view of the general state of religious parties in Lancashire will also explain another feature in its history. In other counties of England ministers were suspended from their offices for not reading the Book of Sports on the Lord's day, for using *conceived* or extemporaneous prayer before and after sermon, or for not reading the service at the altar. But in Lancashire it is doubtful if any such ejections took place; nay, it is probable that Puritanism might have been designedly tolerated, from the persuasion that its growth afforded the sole means by which popery, then deemed the greatest of the two political evils, could be effectively checked and put down.

This latter view has, however, been questioned. Many political writers have maintained that the King afforded direct countenance to the Roman Catholic religion; but the charge is unfounded. The monarch during his greatest difficulties ever evinced the most inflexible attachment to the Church of England, though it is natural to suppose that his marriage with an amiable princess of the communion of Rome, would induce him to look with far less asperity of feeling upon tenets, which he had learned from experience, were not incompatible with the most exalted virtues.

It has been again supposed that the consternation which the Lancashire Papists excited was extravagant; but we are scarcely warranted in making such an assertion. In the north of the county, where they chiefly abounded, they were a formidable body, and long persecution had taught them to adopt a system of defensive organization. The Puritans, on the other hand, were not near so united, but they could boast an ascendancy in point of number. In short, the state of the county was alarming, and gave every indication that a civil contest, far less on political than on religious grounds, would sooner or later follow this feverish state of Sectarian irascibility. The constant theme of the Protestant preachers consisted in fulminations against the Papists, while the fifth of November was set apart for the concentrated thunder of their artillery. In declamations calculated to accelerate the serious crisis which was impending, no Lancashire preacher exceeded Warden Heyrick. The address which in the year 1638 he delivered to his con-

gregation is on record, and it is a document too strikingly illustrative of the temper of the times to be withheld. ^k

Warden Heyrick, on this occasion, preached from Paul's second Epistle to the Thessalonians,—**BRETHREN, STAND FAST!** He professed in this discourse to discover the man of sin, his delusions, abominations, and desolations; but first he congratulated his brethren on another return of the fifth of November,—“a day,” he added, “that ought to be celebrated with preaching, feasting, and sending gifts unto one another, with ringing of bells, making bonfires, and sounding trumpets, with thundering of ordnance, and with all outward expressions of joy; that so God may see our thankfulness; that people from the pulpit may hear of their deliverance; that children in the streets may understand the salvation of the Lord;

^k This document is contained in Mr Heyrick's volume of printed sermons—But for the future I shall avoid quoting the titles of the various books and documents to which I have been indebted in the course of drawing up this and the two succeeding chapters, as their great number would cause a multiplication of notes and references to an embarrassing extent. It is sufficient to observe, that I have availed myself of the valuable historical collections illustrative of the great rebellion as it subsisted in Lancashire, which have been made by Thomas Heywood, Esq. F. A. S. of Swinton. A Catalogue of them is promised by this gentleman, which will find a place in the general Appendix.

And here it is my duty to make the following admission. When the late Mr Greswell's collections relative to the wardenship of Mr Heyrick were placed in my hands, I found that much more was necessary to be done. This deficiency I was myself unable to obviate, owing to the little attention I had paid to this portion of Lancashire history. Under these circumstances, I recommended to the publishers to beg the assistance of Mr Heywood, whose extensive knowledge of the general events of the county during the civil wars would have insured to the work an interesting narrative, written also with the good taste which necessarily results from well-directed scholastic attainments.

But the application failed. Mr Heywood had far too many professional engagements on his hands to afford him this leisure. Taking, therefore, into consideration the embarrassment of the publishers, I have myself undertaken, though with extreme reluctance, to fill up the blank. Mr Heywood has, however, rendered every possible assistance to the task, by the permission which he has given me to extract whatever I chose from the very rare pamphlets and other documents which are to be found in his library. Indeed, without his aid I could have done nothing whatever.

This history of a most interesting period of the church of Manchester is printed, unfortunately for my own credit, at a time when I am at a considerable distance from the press; on which account some inaccuracies are unavoidable. But, whatever these may be, I should be sorry to attribute them to any other source than the imperfection of the copy which I have supplied. The exemplary care of the printer in the duty of his department has always claimed from me the highest commendation.—S. H.

Clermont-Ferrand, France, August 10, 1828.

that strangers abroad may know the barbarousness of the plot, the religion of the traitors, and the blood-thirstiness of Papists. *Horret animus!* Believe me, I cannot think on the horror of the treason but my spirit is moved within me, my indignation is stirred as often as the very mention of the name Papist is made, of such Papists as adhere to the Pope of Rome as to their head, Italian, Spanish, Jesuited, Gunpowder Papists.—I could be angry and sin not; I could stamp, knock, bend my brow and thunder, were it lawful; I could take up the execration of David, Let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, and my right hand forget her cunning, when I forget the deliverance of this day!"

The warden then exhorted his hearers to *STAND FAST*, because there would be an apostacy and falling away, remarking, that there was no religion under Heaven so consonant, so congruous, so suitable, so agreeable to corrupted nature, to flesh and blood, as the religion of the church of Rome. "What an alluring, enticing, tempting religion it is!" he exclaimed: "You see it is compared to a whore, to a great whore, to the chiefest of whores, to the mother of harlots. She hath in her hand a vial of gold full of abominations. You that are not acquainted with the arts, and crafts, and subtilties of whores, read what Solomon saith, who was the wisest of men, yet shamefully befooled by them: a thousand women took hold of him, and of them all he professed he found not one good: he spake much of them because he was much abused of them, and knew much of them. As in other places, so in the seventh of Proverbs, the whore there spoken of makes religion her pretext, uses much art, flattery, and impudency; and this great whore that bewitcheth the souls of men, she pretends religion. Saint John saith she hath in her hand a golden cup, though in that cup was abundance of abomination, yet the cup was of gold. Now there are in the church of Rome many singular, excellent, and admirable truths, and things which, as a golden cup, she holds forth. She hath the Scripture, the sacraments, the articles of the creed, the Lord's prayer, the ten commandments, and many excellent things. Whatsoever the church of Rome holds with the church of England is pure silver and pure gold."

The preacher afterwards took the opportunity of stigmatising all the gunpowder conspirators, and that incarnate devil Guy Fawkes, as Papists, showing from this example that all sorts of Papists were traitors to the King. He likewise reasoned, that if the maxim of Bellarmine was just, that kings had not their immediate power from God, but from the people, it would follow, that whenever the King chose to obey the Pope, the people would be justified in refusing to obey the King. In the next place, all papists were declared to be heretics, infidels, and atheists, particularly for their blaspheming in holding up the Pope as the head of the church;

they were represented as in continual danger of temporal destruction, because it was prophesied **BABYLON SHOULD FALL**; and as eventually certain of eternal damnation. The last denunciation was in the following terms: "Papists, in that sense that I say Papists, are sure of eternal damnation. I may not speak peace where God speaks no peace. When Jehoram said to Jehu, what peace Jehu? he answered, what peace as long as the witchcrafts and whoredoms of thy mother Jezebel remain? What peace, then, can I speak to Rome while the spiritual whoredoms and witchcrafts of the church of Rome remain among them? Saul lost his kingdom for sparing Agag, and God may damn me, for aught I know, if I refuse to damn them. They are but false prophets, Balaam-like, that bless where God doth curse. When God preaches damnation to them, I may not preach salvation. In the third verse of this chapter, Antichrist, the man of sin, is called the son of perdition; and he is so indeed both actively and passively: he is damned himself, and is the cause of damnation in others."—"It is confest of all that an English apostate Papist cannot be saved. God hath preached damnation to them, so must we. Now you see the danger of being Papists. They are traitors to the King under whom they live; heretics, infidels, and atheists; in continual danger of temporal destruction, and at last sure of eternal damnation!"

Mr Heyrick then proceeded to another part of his discourse, which was an exhortation to **STAND FAST** because of God's great mercy in dispensing the Gospel among his hearers. He lauded the services which Queen Elizabeth had rendered to the Protestant cause, though inferior to those of King James, to whom he applied the epithet of **THE STAR FROM THE NORTH**. "What clouds hung in the air," he observed, "what threatenings and denunciations of war! What dismal days did the Papists prophecy of, when the Oriental star did set in the West! Yet God brought a **STAR FROM THE NORTH**. King James came to the crown, and no dog did open his mouth to bark against it. He continued what she (Queen Elizabeth) had begun, and perfected what she did leave: he newly translated the Bible; a great and glorious work! perfected our liturgy, and gave the greatest blow to the man of sin of all that went before him! God preserved his days very long like Solomon's. This day speaks articulately enough, and with a loud voice concerning his and our preservation from the gunpowder treason." The preacher then warned his congregation not to nourish any secret, hidden sin or corruption belonging to popery, and not to have any converse, acquaintance, or familiarity with Papists. "What's the reason," he asks, "that the Pope will not dispense in Spain or Italy if a Papist marry a Protestant, and yet here they will dispense with them? I pity those that have Papists lying in their bosoms, those children

that have Popish parents, those servants that have Popish masters, those tenants that have Popish landlords, those poor neighbours that have great Popish friends. Beloved, *stand fast!* Have nothing to do with Popery in any kind whatsoever." Mr Heyrick's next advice was to read none of the Papists' books, to heed none of their legends, to preserve none of their relics, and to keep none of their images. He then passed an eulogium on King Henry the Eighth for his demolition of the abbeys and religious houses, whereby those places became desolate which would otherwise have been filled with locusts and frogs.

The last exhortation of Warden Heyrick was an awful one ; it breathed a spirit of vindictiveness which has seldom been exceeded. A war of utter extermination was proclaimed against the Papists, and all the people of God, all ministers and magistrates, were invoked to draw the weapon of retribution, on the penalty of themselves dying by the sword of God. "Must we stand fast to the Gospel," he exclaims, "that we be not drawn away to Popery? Suffer, men and brethren, a word of exhortation, you that are magistrates of the land, you that are ministers, yea, all the people of God. Among other reasons, some give this reason for one, why Samuel went throughout the land every year in circuit to see if he could find out any idols of the Gentiles that they had hid, or any graven image or carved work. Our judges in their courts, and bishops in their visitations, give in charge for diligent inquiry, what recusant Papists or popishly affected there are. We have singular, excellent, good laws for the preservation of the purity of religion and to keep under popery. Whence, then, is it, men and brethren, that popery so far prevails this day,—that popery so much increases among us? I beseech you that are armed with authority go to the utmost of your authority! You that have power to punish, punish! to indict, indict! to present, present! Let not Papists rest in peace, in security by you! If the chiefest and greatest men of a parish be Papists, their children, their servants, their attendants, their tenants, their poor neighbours, their rich kindred and friends, are all in danger by them: My lord will have his followers as well of his vices as of his person; if he leave his friend at the church-door, he turns not back without his attendants; if his honour please to be idolatrous they will wait on him to mass. You that keep back the sword from doing justice when God calls for it, you may yourselves die by the sword of God, and the blood of all that perish through your neglect shall lie upon your heads. Cruelitas pro Christo pietas est. Cruelty for Christ is Godliness!"

This remarkable discourse was wound up with an exhortation to *stand fast* to the Gospel; the preacher emphatically exclaiming "If an angel from Heaven preach

any other doctrine let him be accursed !” Thanks were lastly given to God for the deliverance of the day.

The infuriated tone displayed in this sermon is in perfect unison with the character of Mr Heyrick. His feelings were constitutionally sanguine, and in whatever cause he embarked, he was too often the first to pursue a course of extreme violence. But he had also a conscientious mind, which was susceptible of the most generous acts, and when his temper had so cooled as to allow him to reflect upon the unhappy consequences of his precipitation, he was not ashamed to atone for his errors by adopting a very opposite line of conduct. Hence may be explained the numerous tergiversations in his political and ecclesiastical career of which he has been accused.

There is no doubt but that the intemperate discourse which Mr Heyrick had preached would give much concern to such of his parishioners, among whom were Mr Ferdinando Stanley of Broughton, the Mosleys and some others, as were unwilling to involve their country in a civil contest, and had therefore hesitated to enlist themselves under the banners of the Puritans in the wild crusade which they had meditated. Whether a remonstrance from this party was actually made to Mr Heyrick we are not informed ; but on a subsequent 5th of November (A. D. 1639) he laboured to neutralize the violence of the sentiments which he had the year before expressed. On this occasion he took for his text the curse vented by Jacob against Simeon and Levi, whom he considered as visible members of the church militant, and their history as typical, which set forth the tragedy of the day ; he therefore proposed a variation from the words of the text : “ *Jesuited Papists are brethren ; instruments of cruelty are in their habitations.*” In this sermon he took the opportunity of declaring, that it was for Rome, founded in blood, to propagate her religion in blood, but that he had otherwise learned Christ Jesus, the King of Peace ; and that he wished no worse to the Papists than their banishment from the realm. His change of sentiment is thus declared : “ Come out of Babylon is the voice from Heaven ! Come out in affection, come out in person, separate far from them ; say with Jacob, *O, my soul, come not into their secret ; unto their assembly mine honour be not thou united !* But what ? Is this enough to abhor future agreement with them,—to deny them approbation to their deeds ? Jacob goes further, and we must follow him : *Cursed be their anger for it was fierce, and their wrath for it was cruel !* One saith, Babylonians’ brats must not be dandled on the lap but dashed against the stones ; another, painted Jezabel, the whore of Rome, must be thrown out of the windows to be trodden under foot

of horses ; another, Rome is like a nettle that stings them that handle it softly ; a fourth saith, they are like bells never well tuned till they be well hanged. Only I say as Jacob saith, *Simeon and Levi made themselves stink among the nations, and one day the nations will consume them and their house.* I would not, my brethren, blow the trumpet to this war. Let Rome, founded in blood, propagate her religion in blood. I have otherwise learned Christ Jesus, the King of Peace. I hate the person of no Papist under Heaven. I know God hath a great people among them, else he would never say, come out of Babylon. Yea, countries, nations, and kingdoms that now adhere to the beast shall hate the whore. I see Jesuits themselves may be converted. I dare not hate them nor so love their persons as to spare their wickedness ! *Cursed be their anger for it was fierce, and their wrath for it was cruel.* Cursed be the religion that causes rebellion, treason, murdering of innocents, treachery, perjury. The worst I will do them is to pray, *God divide them from the son of Jacob, and scatter them from our English Israel.* They will not suffer any that seem to favour Lutherans in the least degree ; they have their flies and familiars, priests' oaths and inquisitions, to discover good Protestants. O, then, that our pursuivants, apparitors, church-wardens, constables, judges, justices, consistories, high commission, courts of justice, that they would discover these bloody Papists and send them to Rome again. I am no enemy of theirs to wish them where they would be. There they are in soul, I would they were there in body ; there they are in affection, I would they were there in person."

Mr Heyrick concluded this sermon by reminding his hearers of the alleged discovery of the gunpowder plot at the intended moment of its perpetration, of the cause there was for rejoicing, and of the mode in which the anniversary ought to be celebrated. " They, as their resolution was fierce, so their execution was cruel ; they did not only meet and consult, plot and contrive, and combine themselves in one, but they did accomplish, and finish, and perfect their intentions. The last act was tragical and bloody ; but as for ours, God frustrated all their preparations, and that when it was but late. There were not many sands to run in the glass, not many strokes to strike at the clock, not one tide to pass the bridge. It was late last night that God discovered it, and this morning it should have been executed. The knife was at the throat, the dagger at the breast, the powder in the barrel, the match burning in the hand, and there was the villain ready to give fire. But God delivered us, and they perished in their treason, and let their memories perish with them. But behold the servants of the Lord, the King and Queen, and that sacred senate walking loose in the midst of the fire, on

whose bodies the fire had no power. Their raiment was not changed, nor was the smell or touch of fire upon them at all. O, tell it in Gath, publish it in the streets of Ascalon, that the enemies of the English nation may be ashamed and confounded at their cruelty. Let popish factors, Spanish merchants, blunder out blasphemously and say, God is the God of England! Tell it to your children, and to your children's children. Let the 5th of November be for ever kept holy by the English nation. O let the Heavens echo our praises to God. Let there be all outward signs of joy. Let our bells ring to drown the noise of the thundering skies. Let fires flame to darken the light of the sun. Let our organs and singers lift up their voices, that it may be heard and echoed by angels and saints. Let all that hath a tongue and breath praise the Lord!"

But we now draw near to times of great trouble. The causes of the misfortunes of Charles are well known. In the commencement of his reign he had to contend with a distrustful Parliament, impatient under the tyrannical measures of James the First, and was refused the supplies necessary to carry on the foreign wars in which the nation was engaged. Guided by pernicious counsels, he had at various times sought to be independent of Parliament, and with the view of supplying the requisitions created by ill-concerted expeditions, had resorted to divers unconstitutional modes of raising money and men. A revulsion took place. The Commons made successful remonstrances and appeals to the nation, but their great cause of triumph was in their acquisition of the Bill of Rights, to which Charles had been induced to give a reluctant consent. Great causes of discontent, however, yet remained. A long period had elapsed in which the Parliament had not been convoked, and during this interval the civil constitution had been even more deeply wounded. Numerous seditious and schismatic pamphlets had also appeared, for the suppression and punishment of which the tyrannical functions of the Star-chamber were demanded. Nay, even in the Dutchy of Lancaster it was conceived expedient that a court of this kind should be erected, though we have no evidence that its proceedings ever excited any extraordinary convulsion. But in this forbearance apathy had little share. If the Puritans of Lancashire were inclined to enter less deeply into the general politics of the nation, it was because they were far more employed in reflecting upon the peculiar state of their own province. All their thoughts were bent upon devising plans for carrying on a war of utter extermination against the Catholics who dwelt among them, and their degree of attachment to the King, bore an exact proportion to the greater or less vigour with which he executed the laws that had been framed to root out popery. One of

the greatest complaints, therefore, made against Charles, was for a measure to which he had been reduced by his extreme pecuniary difficulties. With the view of converting the Roman Catholic religion into a source of revenue, he had appointed a commission to compound with the Papists, and to remit at a certain price the penal statutes which had been enacted against them. This was an act of grace which the Puritans of Lancashire never forgave.

Nor, on the other hand, were the Roman Catholics less inveterate than their opponents in the feelings of hatred which they reciprocally cherished. To the ancient and unremitted enmity of the Puritans, manifested both in and out of Parliament, they attributed the prolonged force of the penal statutes under which they laboured ; and in the exact proportion that their adversaries continued to lose the royal favour, they sought every occasion to win it. They also acted under the impression, that, aided by the protection of the Crown, they would be the better enabled to surmount the legal disabilities of which they complained : they therefore paid all the fines imposed upon them with the greatest cheerfulness ; they even offered to a needy and impoverished exchequer still greater sacrifices of property, while their personal services in the field of combat were ever at the free disposal of their monarch. This obsequiousness was not lost upon Charles. The Papists of Lancashire, and indeed of other counties, were rapidly acquiring the royal esteem, and if they did not possess its full tide, it was from an apprehension of the alarm which might be excited, that it was not merely a toleration of Popery which was meditated, but a total subversion of the reformed religion of the country.

At this period the affairs of Scotland were beginning to excite much attention. A liturgy, nearly resembling that of the English church, which Charles had endeavoured to introduce among his Scottish subjects, had been regarded by them as a sort of mass, which led to all sorts of abomination. In vain was the King advised not to urge his edict too far, but he was inflexible ; upon which the four great councils of the nation took the *covenant*, which was a most violent renunciation of the Roman religion, and a mutual obligation to defend themselves in the tenets which had been sanctioned by the presbytery. This was followed by a formal abolition of Scottish episcopacy. Charles now took the most serious alarm, his conviction being that the bishops enforced discipline and regularity among the clergy, and that the clergy in their turn inspired obedience among the people ; he could not therefore consent to the sacrifice of an order which he conceived to be essential to the existence of both church and state. During this contention, the arguments advanced by each party became known to English sectaries, so that at length the question was very popular,—whether the divine right belonged more

to episcopacy than to the presbyterian form of church government? Those towns where the population was almost wholly composed of Puritans were charged with evincing a more than common interest in the cause of the covenanters. The King, therefore, finding a difficulty in whom to confide, gave a more ready ear to the suggestions of the Queen, who persuaded the Catholics, for the respect that they had to the Crown, to furnish aid and contributions against the Scottish insurgents. In Manchester, to the great offence of the Puritans, who were incensed to see the King on such good terms with their adversaries, Charles invested Sir Cecyll Trafford, lately reclaimed to popery, with the power of raising the quota of men demanded from the town for the Scottish expedition. Hollingworth accordingly complains, that in conjunction with Edmund Assheton, of Chatterton, Esq. and others, "out of zeal to his Majesty's service, and suspecting that sundry in the town did much favour the Scots, he did charge the town of Manchester with more arms, than they ever before, within the memory of man is, had been charged with."

Charles was soon ready to take the field with a powerful force against the covenanters. But on his arrival in the north he was daunted with the formidable attitude presented by his adversaries, and with their state of unanimity. Dreading, therefore, among his discontented subjects of England the consequences of a defeat, he concluded with his foes a hasty treaty, the basis of which was, that the differences should be adjusted by the ecclesiastical assembly of Scotland, and by the Parliament. But the subsequent violence of the Scotch was more odious to the King than the original provocation. The members of the assembly were not content with merely declaring the episcopal order to be contrary to the constitution of the church: they affirmed it to be unlawful; the proposed canons they confounded with popery; the liturgy they denounced as infamous; and the high commission as an act of tyranny. Charles was highly incensed, and on discovering the covenanters to be in correspondence with France, made this treason the chief ground of a renewal of hostilities. The Scottish insurgents then marched south, and in attempting to cross the Tyne, encountered a detachment of the royal army, which they attacked with much valour and success. They afterwards took possession of Newcastle. The King's forces became seized with a panic, the emotion extending to every town in the north of England, which dreaded being made a scene of bloody warfare. In Manchester, which partook of the terror, a public fast was appointed to be held, in order that by prayers the impending evil might be averted.

On this occasion (the 8th of July 1640) Warden Heyrick ascended the pulpit

of the Collegiate Church, and in a temperate discourse endeavoured to show the unlawfulness of the war. Though a Puritan, he honestly vindicated the King's moderation. His sermon affords so good a specimen of the declamation of this period, that a short abstract of it may be given.

The preacher commenced with illustrating from the text **PRAY FOR THE PEACE OF JERUSALEM**, the effects of a praying town; and, after adverting to the supplications of Noah, David, and Job, observed, "if these severally could do so much with God, what can they not all do joined together? If one favourite can prevail with the King, how can he be denied when all the court, when the council, when the King's children, when the Queen joins with him? Get what stock of prayers you can; pray yourselves; call in others to pray; let the husband pray with the wife, the wife with her maids, the parent with the children; let one neighbour provoke another. An army of men cannot stand against an army of prayers. One praying town can overcome a fighting kingdom!" Then, after recommending that general reformation of manners accompany prayer, he added; "I cannot foretel you of certainty what this day may bring forth, or what answer we shall have to our prayers. But I can say this confidently, and promise you in the name of the Lord, they that pray for the peace of Jerusalem, they shall prosper either in the public prosperity of Jerusalem, or in the prosperity of their posterity. The children which are not yet born may bless you for this day. Pray, then, O, pray for the peace of Jerusalem, for the city, for the church, for the kingdom." He afterwards observed, that Jerusalem was the city of the Great King, the London of the kingdom of Israel, and offered up the following prayer for the English Jerusalem: "That there be no plague, sickness, or commotions to hurt it; that the foreigners and strayers that are in the city, the malcontents, and desperate herd, the Canaanites that dwell among them, the French, the Papists may not disturb their peace and prosperity. Pray," he continued, "that there may be no heresy, no heretical doctrine, no erroneous articles of religion, no Trent determinations, no Socinian blasphemies, no Arminian quiddities, no Antimonian wickednesses! Pray that there may be no schism, no separation, no wall of partition, no heathenish customs, no Samaritan rites, no idolatrous superstitions, no popish ceremonies, no canons to batter and terrify the consciences of God's people." Then, after congratulating his brethren that Christ was the Prince of Peace, and that his disciples were children of peace, and quiet fishermen, not hollowing hunters and whooping falconers,

¹ It is probable that Mr Heyrick levelled this remark at Bishop Juxon, whose fondness for country sports gave great offence to the Puritans.

he recommended that a prayer be offered for the peace of Jerusalem, that there may be no war in the kingdom. His congratulation, that the country had long been a stranger to the miseries of the sword, is very powerfully expressed. "War is only sweet to them that are ignorant of it. Our kingdom hath enjoyed a longer time of peace than some kingdoms have. Our age hath not been roused with the barking of uncouth wolves; the midnight drum hath not frightened our sleeps; the sounding trumpet hath not deafened our ears; our beacons have not been fired, our ships arrested, or our walls manned; our towns have not been ransacked, our houses ruined, our women ravished, or our infants dashed against the stones; we have not sowed, and the stranger reaped; we have not built, and the enemy possessed; we have not been confounded with strange languages; but PEACE hath been within our walls, and PLENTY within our dwellings;—Peace, the daughter of the Gospel of Peace,—Plenty, the daughter of Peace,—Peace, the glory of Heaven, the joy of the whole world!"

The foregoing passage is remarkable for having been delivered upon the eve of one of the most bloody periods of civil commotion that England had ever seen. The preacher then observed, that the sword was one of God's four judgments, whereby he laid waste and made desolate the greatest kingdoms; this judgment being greater than pestilence, famine, or noisome beasts. Of pestilence he remarked, "what a fear it strikes into the body of the whole kingdom, if but one city be infected; what flying out of the city, what watch and ward, what strict examinations and doings of all that come from that city, every one being like Cain, afraid of every one that meet them, lest they should kill them,—runnagates upon the face of the earth. Remember the fear that surprised you when God shot this arrow but into one house of this town; when it fetched the heart blood but from a few, what flying, what posting away, yourselves, your households. My brethren, if the plague be so terrible, what will the sword be that comes after the plague? more fierce, more terrible, by how much the mercies of man are less than the mercies of God. Yea, when the sword comes, the rest of these four judgments attend on it."

Mr Heyrick next attempted to show, by a very undignified analogy, that of all the judgments which the Deity exercised, the sword was the last to which he had recourse. The passage is scarcely worth quoting, except as an illustration of the confined, and even gross view which was taken of the divine attributes by the preachers of this period. "This judgment," he observed, "of all judgments God is the most backwards, the most unwilling to bring upon his people; this shows the greatness of it. Physicians will try all means before they will cut off; they

will let blood, and prescribe pills and potions. *Sed si convaluerit malum, et ignis adhibetur et ferrum.* The sword is the last thing that God will use, yea God seems to be afraid to use it, and therefore he defers it from day to day, from year to year. They that are troubled with the stone, they will hardly be brought to be cut for it; they will endure much first; they will try several physicians, several experiments; they will send for the surgeon, and they will reason with him; they will see his knife; they will enlarge their discourses; they will send him away again and again, and they will send for him again, and for other surgeons; they are scarce drawn to it. See the same of God."

The preacher then observed, that bloody-minded, irreligious, licentious, and violent people were often the instruments of this punishment, and he pointed out the danger they were in of themselves falling into the misery of war, the trumpet having been blown, and the king having set up his royal standard. Considering, therefore, what possibility there was of escape, and what life remained, he recommended the effects of prayer. "I could tell you," he continued, "of some singular things that have fallen within mine own knowledge, yea wonderful things hath the public fasting prayers of our church obtained from God. Nay, more, to encourage you, look into your own town, when God sent that infectious disease the small pox; when scarce there was one house, as in Egypt, wherein there was not one dead. When you fasted and prayed, how soon did the Lord remove that plague. An army of men cannot stand against a man of prayer, much less against an army of prayers. Surely, my brethren, it is the prayer of the church that hath kept off judgments to this day."

Mr Heyrick concluded with an exhortation to pray for the peace of Jerusalem, to lay the war near the heart, and to ever set it before the eyes; to prolong the fast, and not to be afflicted for a day only, for that the people of Israel in their captivity had fasted seventy years.

But we may now continue to glance at other great political and ecclesiastical events, in which Manchester was more or less interested.

After the Scots had taken possession of Newcastle, and had even penetrated into Yorkshire, great discontent was excited among the royal troops, which was heightened by the circumstance that Catholic officers had been employed in the King's service. A clamour was also excited throughout the whole country at Charles's long perseverance in governing the realm without a parliament, and a petition was sent to him to summon, without delay, the two houses. The new parliament, which was reluctantly convened by him, met in a determined spirit, and their first

object was to agree with the commissioners of Scotland, who had been employed to treat with the King, that the Scottish troops should be retained in the service of the two houses by a regular payment, until they had brought the crown to a compliance with all their measures. Strafford was accused. All governors, lieutenants of counties, and officers of customs, who had exercised under the crown an unconstitutional power, and all concerned in the King's monopolies, were named *delinquents*, and were subjected to heavy fines. So great, in short, was the national tumult, that Charles seemed determined to re-establish himself if possible with his people. The levy of the impositions of tonnage and poundage was reduced. A bill received the King's consent for triennial parliaments. The Star-chamber was abolished, as well as the stannary courts and councils of York and Wales. In fine, the government was changed from an absolute monarchy into a democracy.

There were also at this time certain presages of another event which was fast approaching, namely, the downfall of episcopacy. Several causes had conspired to render the hierarchy unpopular. During the dispute between the King and the parliament, the bishops had taken the part of the crown; and when forced loans had been resorted to, they had reconciled this, as well as other arbitrary measures, with the favourite court tenets of passive obedience and unlimited submission to princes. Another adverse cause was the favour shown by the bishops to Arminianism. By the first reformers the rigid principles of predestination and absolute decrees had been embraced; but by Arminius and his followers they had been disputed, which controversion was no less to the satisfaction of Archbishop Laud and his brethren, than to the annoyance of the Puritans, who, in their strict devotion to the doctrines taught by the earliest opponents of popery, had even considered predestinarian speculations as essential to their religious faith. A still further cause of the odium attached to the hierarchy was the attempt of Laud to mingle with the rites of the church of England, which he supposed to be too devoid of ornament, many of the obsolete ecclesiastical customs of the third, fourth, or fifth centuries. He demanded the same veneration for the sacerdotal functions, and the same submission to synods and councils, that the Papists were accustomed to enforce. Many similar ceremonies were also required; similar observances for particular holy days; similar reverential postures of the body; and similar ecclesiastical habits. The design was extremely ill judged at a time when the public taste ran counter to ritual superfluities; when it was inclining to abject meanness; and when any ornamental addition was denounced as a mark of the beast. No wonder, therefore, that the archbishop should be accused of the at-

tempt to gradually model the established religion of the country into a revived system of popery. He likewise gave great offence for discountenancing the delivery of lectures or sermons, on the plea that they were infected with puritanism. The last circumstance which was hastening the downfall of episcopacy, was the practical opportunity which the Scottish covenanters, during their abode in England, were affording the Puritans to be acquainted with the presbyterian form of church government. From all these causes the public opinion was at length most loudly and tumultuously expressed against episcopacy.

During this convulsion of the church of England, Warden Heyrick took an early opportunity of publishing his sentiments, which were unfavourable to the hierarchy, and friendly to puritanism. In the volume of sermons which he dedicated to the House of Commons, he thus expressed himself: "Yea, of late I have heard them much branded with the name of Puritan that would not yield up their souls and consciences to the chair of bishops, with their estates, liberties, and lives to the will of their superiors. The name is very large and very reproachful. A bishop affirmed he could as well fetch one off from the guilt of felony as from the imputation of puritanism. My humble motion is,—make us all Puritans, or leave no Puritan among us!"

But, though averse to episcopacy, Mr Heyrick was far from sanctioning all the changes which had been extravagantly proposed in the institutions of the church of England. He was extremely unwilling that any innovations should be made in the liturgy and articles, as he conceived that these might be preserved entire though the form of the ecclesiastical government were changed; and, with regard to acts of mere ceremony, as bowing at the name of Jesus, and placing the communion-table on the east, against which great offence had been taken, it is doubtful whether he regarded them as antichristian or not. He was rather inclined to attribute much of the prejudice which had been excited against the English ritual to the obsolete frivolities and impertinencies which had been introduced into it by Archbishop Laud; and this, in fact, was the burden of the complaint which he made in his dedicatory address to the House of Commons. After having lamented that the thirty-nine articles had been challenged by the harlot, and that Papists and Arminians had claimed them as theirs, he added, "the book of homilies is disclaimed; unheard of violation hath been offered to the second, to the fourth commandments; preaching is cried down; preachers discountenanced; the sacraments have been defiled; the people of the Lord have been made to abhor the offering of the Lord."

Mr Heyrick followed up this representation, by invoking the exertions of the

House to suppress the mischief caused by press and pulpit. "Press and pulpit," he continued, "have vomited forth corrupt and undigested matters! Augustus made a bonfire of all such books as corrupted the Roman Ethnic religion; it would be your wisdom to make a diligent search for all apochryphal books, heretical, popish, semi-pelagian pamphlets, slanderous libels, and impertinent writings, and sacrifice them to Vulcan! We pray for great things to be done by you; we have opened our mouths wide to the Lord; we have heard of great things of you; the Lord prosper you to a happy and blessed conclusion for a glorious reformation of church and commonwealth! The counsellor, the mighty God, the everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace, he upon whose shoulder the government lies, increase your government and peace, and order you and establish you with judgment and justice henceforth for ever. The seal of the Lord of Hosts perform this!"

This appeal to the Commons for their interference in the acts of press and pulpit was not likely to be made in vain. The lower House had already formed itself into a court of inquisition, and the clergy became still farther harassed by sequestration, imprisonment, and ejection.

News at this time arrived from Ireland of the horrid massacre of the Protestants. The tidings excited the most lively alarm. The Lancashire Puritans exclaimed, that the multitudes of Papists dwelling among them would repeat on English soil the bloody scenes which had been transacted in the sister-kingdom, seeing that they were actuated by the like hellish principles. A request was therefore made to Lord Strange, the Lord Lieutenant of the county, that the Protestants might be furnished with arms and ammunition as the means, under God, of their lawful defence against their malignant enemies, the expences of which they proposed to discharge out of the county levies. Lord Strange promptly attended to their representation, and magazines of arms were formed in various parts of the county. In Manchester the Earl of Derby lent for the purpose one of his rooms in the building of the college, wherein were deposited ten barrels of powder, and a proportionate quantity of match.

But the apprehension which had been excited was at this period groundless. The Catholics of Lancashire had recently been making advances in the favour of their monarch, and though their views had been damped by the savage acts of the infuriated bigots of Ireland, they still looked to the eventual removal of the penal laws under which they suffered; they were therefore careful to avoid occasions that led to an open warfare with their opponents, which, by exciting a feeling of resentment against them throughout the whole nation, might be highly prejudicial to their ultimate object. For this reason, it was not likely that the sword

would be first drawn by the Papists ; on the contrary, if the Puritans could have subjected their own hearts to an examination, they would have found, that there alone resided that more impatient hatred which would commence the deadly fray, and that the slightest of provocations would suffice as a signal to deluge the plains of Lancashire with the blood of neighbours and kinsmen. In this implacable mood Warden Heyrick had some years ago invited from the pulpit an utter extermination of the Lancashire Papists, and the same spirit having been revived by the news of the Irish massacre, he was induced to commit this sermon, unequalled for the cruel spirit which it breathed, to the public press. ^m

Such, however, was the good effect (though but a temporary one) of the prudent forbearance of the Catholics, that the tranquillity of Lancashire was gradually restored. The trading industry of Manchester was then excited, and its commerce was in a flourishing state. ⁿ

In the year 1642, the crisis of discontent manifested against the Crown was fast approaching. The Commons raised money under pretence of employing it against Ireland, while they took possession of the arms deposited in the magazine of the country with the secret intention of employing them against their sovereign. They published likewise a remonstrance, in which they recapitulated all their complaints against the King, mingling with them representations which were wholly false. On the other hand, the bishops made a formal protest against the laws which had been enacted during their forced expulsion from the House, for which the Commons preferred against them an accusation of high treason, while all who favoured the hierarchy or monarchy were stigmatized and prosecuted as delinquents. These causes of provocation excited great irritation in the mind of the King, who was so ill advised as to demand that certain individuals of Parliament, for their conduct in the House, should be formally arraigned. This proceeding

^m Nothing but this circumstance can explain Mr Heyrick's publication of a sermon which is quite inconsistent with the milder sentiments professed in the other two discourses which the volume contains. That the warden did not originally design it for the press is to be likewise inferred from the circumstance, that, though it was the first of the series which had been delivered, it was the last in the order of its publication.

ⁿ In a small treatise, written by Lewis Roberts, a merchant, and entitled "The Merchant's Map of Commerce," 1641, the author states, that "the town of Manchester buys the linen yarn of the Irish in great quantity, and weaving it, returns the same again to Ireland to sell. Neither doth her industry rest here, for they buy cotton wool in London that comes first from Cyprus and Smyrna, and work the same into fustians, vermilions, dimities, &c. which they return to London, where they are sold ; and from thence, not seldom, are sent into such foreign parts, where the first materials may be more easily had for that manufacture."

caused a general sensation among the members. Addresses crowded the table from the city of London, and from different counties, with professions to live and die for the privileges of Parliament. Puritanic bigots, to whom the royalists, on account of the lank hair which encircled their brows, gave the name of *Round-heads*, daily assaulted the Court of Whitehall, and they were only kept in check by the young men, deridingly styled *Cavaliers*, who volunteered their services to protect their sovereign from insult. Charles, for his personal safety, considered it advisable to remove to Hampton Court, and afterwards to York, at which latter place he was received with enthusiasm, and was joined by numbers of the nobility. Soon afterwards he repaired to Hull, with the intention of taking possession of the magazine of arms which had belonged to the troops that had been levied against Scotland, but the gates were shut against him ; upon which he declared the governor a traitor, while the Commons justified the action. During this open rupture the Parliament sent terms to Charles which were tantamount to an abolition of all monarchical authority ; as that a bill should be confirmed, the intention of which was to render all governors and lieutenants of counties not responsible to the Crown but to the Parliament ; that the King's council should be composed of no persons but such as were agreeable to the two chambers of Lords and Commons, and that no act of the sovereign should be in force unless it had passed this council. To these demands Charles gave his refusal by several proclamations addressed to his subjects, considering that war was preferable to the ignominious conditions of such a peace.

The King and Parliament were now severally employed in taking the most efficient measures for gaining over each county to their opposite interests. In Lancashire the high sheriff, Sir John Girlington, stood well affected to the King. Sir William Fitton was chosen a collector for gathering in the subsidies, and he directed that the county should, with all speed, bring in the money ; the major part of the Hundred of Salford was said by him to stand right. James Lord Strange, son and heir apparent of William Earl of Derby, was the lord-lieutenant of Lancashire and Cheshire. This most accomplished nobleman had married Charlotte Princess of Tremouille, and was deservedly respected for his exemplary domestic virtues ;—as a subject none yielded to him in attachment to the royal cause.

Nor were the King's opponents less active. Sir Thomas Stanley, Mr Ralph Assheton of Middleton, Mr Peter Egerton of Shaw, Mr Hyde of Denton, Mr John Moore, Mr Alexander Rigby, and others, belonged to the committee appointed by the two Houses for raising the militia of Lancashire in the Parliamen-

tary cause, and were deputy-lieutenants. Lord Wharton was the Parliamentary lord-lieutenant, and the commander-in-chief of the militia of the county.

When the sovereign had retired to York, Lancashire, now so near the seat of monarchy, began to take some share in the contentions subsisting between the King and Parliament. Manchester could boast very few royalists; but in the vicinity many of the wealthier families were devoted to the Crown, among whom were the Mosleys of Houghsend and Ancoats, the Prestwiches of Hulme, and Mr Ferdinando Stanley of Broughton. Salford gave its decided voice in the royal cause. The Puritans of Manchester vindicated their preference for the Parliament less on civil than religious grounds; they considered the Commons as the most deserving the confidence of the country for their perseverance in demanding the rigorous execution of the laws against the Catholics at a time when the King's toleration was encouraging the designs of Antichrist. Compared, therefore, with this cause of offence, the arbitrary acts of the Crown weighed but little in the scale of grievances. Their prejudice was again heightened by the continual alarms which were designedly fomented, that priests, and jesuits, and other ill-disposed people were harbouring designs against the state to which the King was even privy. This report, so injurious to the royal cause, induced Charles to issue a proclamation, that the laws against Papists should be put into force.

But in justice to the Puritans of Manchester it should be added, that the voice which they expressed in favour of the Crown was not marked by any strong asperity of feeling; on the contrary, much moderation was displayed, which appeared to be sincere. The King had made many concessions to the Parliament, both in church and state, of which Warden Heyrick professed to be sensible; he was therefore anxious that a county address should be laid before the throne, which might be distinguished by sentiments no less conciliatory. Actuated by this wish, he took the pains to draw up a petition, in which his majesty was styled a zealous defender of the established doctrine, liturgy, and government of the church from heresy, libertinism and profaneness, and was congratulated on a variety of parliamentary measures, to which the royal consent had been recently given, the foremost of which was the suppression of the odious rebellion in Ireland, and the proclamation for putting into execution the laws against Papists. The other acts of state which had been intended to heal the civil injuries that the constitution had sustained were to the Puritans of Lancashire of subordinate consequence, and held accordingly a corresponding place and rank. The ultimate object of the petition was stated to be, that the King might suggest to the memorialists some expedient mode of preparing a dutiful address unto the Parliament for the taking

away of those differences and impediments that interrupted the blessed harmony which once subsisted between the King and that great council ; or, in other words, it was an offer from the county of Lancaster to mediate between the parties for peace and reconciliation.

Mr Heyrick greatly exerted himself to procure numerous signatures to the address, and, as he possessed much influence in the county, he succeeded so well as to be enabled to boast, that it was subscribed with the names of sixty-four knights and esquires, fifty-five divines, seven hundred and forty gentlemen, and about seven thousand freeholders and others. Setting off, therefore, to York in company with Mr John Bradshawe of Bradshawe, he laid the petition before the throne :—

“ To the Sacred Majesty of our most gracious sovereign Lord, CHARLES, by the grace of God, of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, King, defender of the Faith, &c. The humble gratulation and petition of divers his Majesty’s faithful subjects of the true Protestant religion within the county Palatine of Lancaster.

“ Most Gracious Sovereign,

“ The most real and convincing testimonies of your princely care for the advancement of God’s true religion in your Majesty’s realms, and the common good of all your subjects, could no less than draw from us, who have hitherto in these stirring times sat still, this humble acknowledgment of our due and necessary thanks :

“ We, with the inmost and choicest thoughts of our souls, do esteem and prize your Majesty’s most righteous intentions of governing your liege people according to the wholesome laws of this kingdom, a thing so often and with such earnestness avowed by your sacred Majesty, whereunto we yield that hearty credence which is due to so religious and righteous a prince :

“ We do also with all humility and thankfulness acknowledge your manifold and evident manifestations to the world, that you affect not an arbitrary government, but the common prosperity and happiness of all your loyal subjects, by your readiness to join with your Parliament in a speedy raising of forces for a timely suppression of that odious rebellion in Ireland ; by your late proclamation for the putting in due execution the laws against Papists ; by your most gracious condescending to the desires of your great council in signing the bills for the triennial Parliament ; for relinquishing your title of imposing upon merchandize and power of pressing soldiers ; for the taking away of the Star-chamber and High Commission Courts ; for the regulating of the council table, as also the bills for the forests and Stannary courts, with other most necessary acts :

“ Moreover, we are confident and well assured of your Majesty’s zeal for the advancement of the true Protestant religion, and with inexpressible joy do understand your most Christian and pious resolution for the preservation of these powerful encouragements of industry, learning, and piety, the means and honour of the ministry ; for the maintenance and continuance of our church government and solemn liturgy of the church, of long-continued and general approbation of the most pious and learned of this nation and of other countries, composed according to the primitive pattern by our blessed martyrs and other religious and learned men ; as also your gracious pleasure, that all abuses of church and state shall be reformed according to the model of Queen Elizabeth’s days of ever blessed and famous memory : by the one you have weakened the hopes of the sacrilegious devourers of the church’s patrimony, if there be any such ; and by the other at once provided against all popish impieties and idolatries, and also against the growing dangers of Anabaptists, Brownists, and other novelists. All which piety, love, and justice, we beseech God to return unto your royal bosom.

“ But yet, most Gracious Sovereign, there is one thing that sads our hearts and hinders the perfection of our happiness, which is the distance and misunderstanding between your Majesty and your Parliament, whereby the hearts of your subjects are filled with fears and jealousies, justice neglected, sacred ordinances profaned, and trading impaired to the impoverishing of many of your liege subjects ; for the removal whereof we cannot find out any lawful means without your Majesty’s assistance and direction.

“ Wherefore we humbly beseech your most excellent Majesty to continue your most Christian and pious resolution of ruling your people according to the laws of the land, and maintaining of the same ; of being a zealous defender of the established doctrine, liturgy, and government of our church from heresy, libertinism and profaneness ; an advancer of learning, piety, and religion ; an encourager of painful orthodox preachers :

“ And whatsoever your Parliament shall offer to your royal view conducing to that blessed end, the common good and tranquillity of your subjects, to be pleased to condescend unto and graciously to confirm :

“ And withall to declare unto us some expedient way how we may make a dutiful address unto your Parliament for the taking away of those differences and impediments which stay the happy proceedings of that most honourable assembly, whereof your Majesty is the head, (which once removed, we doubt not but you will speedily be as near your Parliament in person as in affection, that there may be a blessed harmony between your Highness and that great council,) and we shall with all alacrity observe the same, humbly tendering our lives and fortunes for the

preservation of your royal person, crown, and dignity, according to our bounden duty and allegiance; and humbly praying for your Majesty's long and prosperous reign over us."

It must have been extremely difficult for his Majesty to reply to an address of this kind. In the passage wherein the church liturgy is lauded in the highest terms, Warden Heyrick, the writer, spoke with sincerity his own sentiments, which in this instance formed an exception to those of the great mass of Puritans. But when his Majesty was congratulated for the maintenance of the church government and for the preservation of it from heresy, libertinism and profaneness, it might appear at first view that a tribute was intended to him for the great yet unsuccessful exertions which he displayed in defending the hierarchy from puritanic hostilities. A recommendation is, however, added, that the King would be graciously pleased to confirm whatsoever the Parliament should offer to the royal view; and as the Parliament had already arraigned Archbishop Laud, degraded the bishops, and stigmatized most of the ministers under the hierarchy as delinquents, the form of church government upon which the King is complimented becomes less dubious, as well as the character of the "painful orthodox preachers" forced upon the protection of the King in the place of those who had been ejected, Charles upon reading the petition naturally enough inquired from Lord Strange the character of the party from whom it proceeded, which was made known to him, accompanied with an intimation that it did not speak the prevailing voice of the county, and that another would shortly be presented in less equivocal terms. The King then signified to Mr Heyrick and Mr Bradshaw, that a reply to their well-meant address would be communicated on a future and early occasion to the proper authorities of the county.

At a subsequent court which was held at York on the 6th of June 1642, Sir John Girlington, the high sheriff of Lancashire, attended to receive the reply of the King, which was conciliating yet guarded. His Majesty's refusal to offer any suggestion to the petitioners of the mode in which they should address the Parliament was judicious. The proposed mediation of a large county, on the eve within itself of a religious war, could only tend to distract any future treaties between the King and the two Houses, which were already too much embarrassed by the number of empirical views entertained by contending parties of the remedies applicable to church and state. The royal answer was as follows:—

"His Majesty is very glad to find such real acknowledgment of those great graces which he hath bountifully bestowed upon his kingdom of England in the

time of this Parliament, and likewise it is a great contentment to him to find so many true sons of the church of England, as by your expressions in the said petition doth plainly appear to him ; assuring you that he shall not yield in his zeal and constancy for the maintenance of the true Protestant profession, neither to Queen Elizabeth nor to his father of ever blessed memory, both against Popish superstition on the one side, and schismatical innovation and confusion on the other.

“ In the last place, as he doth take in very good part your desire of a good understanding between his Majesty and his two Houses of Parliament, so likewise he cannot but much commend the way that you take therein ; and as for your directions, if you will but seriously consider his Majesty’s just and necessary desires expressed in his answers and declarations since his coming to York, your zeal and knowledge will not need more particular instructions to make such addresses to both Houses of Parliament as the times require, and befitting such loyal and true affected subjects to your King and country, as this petition expresseth you to be.”

Upon receiving this reply, accompanied with a commission of array for Lancashire, Sir John Girlington, the high sheriff, lost no time in summoning a meeting of the county, which he appointed to be held on Preston Moor. About five thousand persons attended, among whom on the King’s side was Lord Strange, who was accompanied by his eldest son then a child, Lord Mollineux, Sir George Middleton, and Sir Edward Fitten. On the side of the Parliament, there were several of the committee for raising the militia. Sir John Girlington opened the business of the meeting in a manner which was so far from being conciliatory to the Parliamentarians, that it spoke for open war. He commenced by adverting to the factious spirit which prevailed in the county, and announced that he was in possession of a commission of array from the King, directed to Lord Strange, to himself, to Sir George Middleton, Sir Alexander Radcliff, Master Tildesley of Mierscough, Master William Farington, and others. He threatened the discontented with the commission, and made known the King’s proclamation of the 27th of May. Here he was interrupted by the Parliamentary party, who called out for the several declarations of the Lords and Commons concerning the proclamation, and for the votes of both Houses,—but he paid no regard to their outcry. He next read the Lancashire petition to the King, with his majesty’s answer, which gave such little satisfaction to the petitioners who had assembled to hear it, that in a sullen mood they began to retire. He afterwards undertook to proclaim the two latest declarations of the King, but was requested by the opposite party to desist ; long, however, before he could get through them, the greatest part of the

assembly had dispersed, only six or seven hundred persons remaining. The Parliamentary committee then proposed to acquaint the sheriff with the instructions which they had received from the two houses, but he refused to hear them ; upon which, in an authoritative tone, they charged him to deliver up the royal commission of array, and warned him to forbear the execution of it. Hearing this, he put spurs to his horse, and as he rode away exclaimed, " All that are for the King, go with us ! For the King ! For the King !" The Parliamentarians answered him by crying out, " For the union of the King and Parliament !" About four hundred royalists, many of whom were accused of being popish recusants, then followed their leader as he rode about the moor, huzzaing " for the King ! For the King !" But the object of the high sheriff extended farther than mere parade or ostentation. He directed his course to the magazine of Preston, and, aided by his party, seized about six barrels of powder and match, which he ordered to be lodged in security for the use of the Crown. At the same moment Lord Strange set off for Liverpool, and, assembling a number of armed men, beset the town's magazine, and seized for the royal use no less than thirty barrels of powder.

The policy of this violent proceeding may be greatly doubted. It is true that the royalists had a precedent for the act in the conduct of Sir John Hotham, who had secured the immense quantity of powder lodged in the garrison of Hull for the use of the Parliamentarians ; for which reason, if the state of party in Lancashire had been precisely the same as that of Yorkshire, Sir William Girlington and Lord Strange would have been perfectly justified. But this was far from being the case. Though the Puritans of Lancashire had begun to interest themselves in the dispute between the King and Parliament, the predilection which they showed in the cause of the latter had been hitherto expressed with such moderation, (for so it was even acknowledged by the King,) as not to call for measures of extraordinary rigour. The leading circumstance which ought to have been kept in view was this : that, independently of the disputes which agitated the nation at large, the Puritans and Papists of Lancashire were in a state of mutual exasperation, which bordered upon open warfare, and that Lord Strange himself had sanctioned the representation made to him by the former, that they stood in great need of weapons and ammunition, and that their sole object in arming themselves was for defence against the Papists who dwelt among them, from whom they apprehended a repetition of the bloody scenes which had been transacted in the sister kingdom. Surely then, when upon such a plea as this, the Protestants had been permitted to retain in their possession a quantity of powder and match, the act of disarming them in the absence of any well founded charge of actual rebellion, must

have been a dangerous expedient, which the event fully proved :—the Puritans from that day accused the King of a design to throw them into the power of their inveterate enemies, and from that very day the royal cause in Lancashire began to be mischievously confounded with the cause of the Papists.

No sooner had Sir John Girlington seized upon the ammunition of Preston, than Mr Alexander Rigby, one of the Parliamentary Commissioners, set off at full speed to Manchester, with the intent of preventing the quantity of powder which had been deposited in a room of the College from being likewise captured. Upon his arrival, he immediately called a meeting of the inhabitants, and communicated to them what had transpired at Preston. The town was struck with the greatest consternation ;—the alarm spread that the King was in confederacy with the Roman Catholics, and that the object of taking away the powder which had been allowed the inhabitants for a specific purpose, was to betray them into the hands of their enemies. It was therefore resolved to immediately invoke the protection of the Parliament, the first step of which was by a representation of the complaint to the deputy-lieutenants of the county. The following address was therefore drawn up and signed by the persons present :

“ To the Right Worshipful, they of the Committee and the rest Deputy-Lieutenants, entrusted by the Honourable Houses of Parliament for the Militia of the county palatine of Lancaster,

“ We, whose hands are hitherto subscribed, apprehending eminent and imminent danger concerning the magazine here in Manchester, do humbly beseech your worships to give command (if in your judgment you think fit) that the same be removed from the present place of fear, and be placed where you may confide : and upon intimation thereof, we are all unanimously concluded to be aiding and assisting thereof ; we humbly conceiving our proper interests to be in it, not only as subjects, but also as having borne our proportionable parts and share in procuring the same.—And we shall ever pray,” &c.

The petition was in the first instance presented to Mr Ralph Assheton of Middleton, who instantly placed himself at the head of a large body of his tenantry, and, accompanied by Mr Rigby, set off for Manchester. Here he was joined by Sir Thomas Stanley, and a considerable body of the inhabitants who had assembled for the defence of the magazine. Soon afterwards Sir Alexander Ratcliffe and Mr Thomas Prestwich, who belonged to the commission of Royal array, advanced towards the college, being followed by Mr Nicholas Mosley, Mr Thomas Danson, the under-sheriff, and a number of royalists. They demanded the powder for the use of the King, and upon being refused, attempted to convey it away by force,

but were obliged to retreat. The ammunition was then removed to a place of concealment. Other deputy-lieutenants appointed by Parliament subsequently made their appearance, namely, Mr Richard Holland of Denton, Mr Holcroft, Mr Eger-ton, and Mr Moore, who, with the concurrence of their colleagues, resolved to call together the inhabitants of Manchester, for the purpose of considering what was the best to be done for the safety of the town. The meeting determined that it was expedient to summon the militia ; to raise a regiment of foot for their defence, the command to be given to Mr Holland of Denton,^o and with this force to take possession of Manchester in the name of the Parliament. The following proclamation was then issued :—

“ Whereas there have been heretofore divers great levies of money laid upon this county of Lancaster by the Lord Strange, late lord lieutenant of the said county, and his deputy-lieutenants ; for their manner of disposing of which, they have been pleased to give an account unto us, and have repaid several small sums of money in some parts of this county, acknowledged by this account to be in their hands then undisposed of, and by the said account did aver that they had bestowed four hundred and forty pounds in powder, match, and the like ammunition, which they had delivered up in several towns of this county, in part of repayment of the said monies so levied by them :

“ And whereas the sheriff of this county and some others have lately seized into their hands and possession the said powder, match, and ammunition, in the towns of Preston and Liverpool, and have threatened and attempted to do the like in Manchester without giving any account by what authority they did the same :

“ We therefore, tendering our own interests and possession of this small remainder left at Manchester, have thought good to take it into our hands for the defence of the King, both Houses of Parliament, and the county of Lancaster.”

As soon as Lord Strange, the lord lieutenant of the county, was apprised of the proceedings of Manchester, he placed himself at the head of an armed force. Great alarm was then excited. All the shops were shut up, and numerous inhabitants from the neighbouring villages crowded into the town. Mr Ralph Assheton, Mr John Moore, and Mr Alexander Rigby, assisted in training the recruits of the Manchester regiment, many of whom are said to have become very expert musketeers, and active and able pikemen. Fortifications were also thrown up at the ends of the streets.

Lord Strange halted at Bury, distant from Manchester about nine miles. He

^o Mr Holland of Denton was the ninth in descent from Sir William Holland, a branch of the family of Holland of Holland, who became seated at Denton as early as the reign of Edward III.

seemed unwilling to be the first who should strike the blow, and remained some days inactive. The Parliamentary Commissioners likewise professed an unwillingness to the effusion of blood, and sent to Bury to treat with his lordship. In this conference, Lord Strange seems to have been fully aware that he had made a precipitate seizure of ammunition, which had never been intended for any other use than that which was dictated by an occasion of great panic, namely, the protection of the town against the Papists. This error having been committed, and a real source of dissatisfaction against the Crown having been created, the policy under these new circumstances of allowing so much powder to remain in the hands of the Manchester Puritans became truly questionable. But in order to allay as much as possible the spirit of resentment which had been excited, and still to provide for the security of the Crown, his lordship proposed that the ammunition in dispute should be transferred to the joint possession of two honourable persons, who should give their pledge that it should never be used for disloyal ends, but exclusively for the purpose to which it was originally destined ; that one of these trustees should be nominated by himself, (and he gave in the name of Mr Robert Holt, one of his own deputy-lieutenants,) and that the other should be appointed by the Parliamentary Commissioners. This very fair proposal was rejected. No other suspicion can therefore remain, but that the inhabitants of Manchester, after having declared openly for the Parliament, had begun to entertain ulterior designs not very creditable to their allegiance as subjects.

The conference having been broken up, Lord Strange lingered two days longer at Bury, irresolute what plan to adopt. At length he dismissed most of his followers, which induced the Parliamentary Commissioners to imitate the example, by allowing the men from the adjoining villages, who had come forward in the defence of Manchester, to return to their own homes.

From Bury Lord Strange proceeded to Wigan, where he summoned a meeting of the Commissioners of Royal Array, by whom the affair at Manchester was reported to the King at York. His Majesty seemed to be fully aware of the necessity which new circumstances had created of disarming the town ; but, in order that the inhabitants might not complain that he was taking from them the whole of their means of defence against the Papists, and that the county at large might not have any occasion for remonstrance, he caused a proclamation to be made, that one part of the powder should travel to Bury, another part to Rochdale, and that a third portion should remain at Manchester. To remove likewise any suspicion that he was in confederacy with the Catholics, he declared by another proclamation that no Popish recusant should serve in his army.

After the royal proclamation regarding the powder had been read at the Cross of Manchester, Lord Strange placed himself at the head of a second muster of his troops and returned to Bury. A base attempt was then made by the opposite party, to excite the country at large against him by a promulgation of the most untrue and calumnious reports. It was asserted that his lordship had been wantonly induced to give battle to the town of Manchester, in which engagement great numbers on each side were killed and wounded, but that by the surpassing valour of the Parliamentarians, the royalists had been obliged to raise the siege. This vile falsehood was ordered by the Parliament to be printed and published, with the following inflammatory title prefixed to it ;—" The beginning of civil wars in England, or terrible news from the North ! "

Shortly after the return of Lord Strange to Bury, some of the more peaceable inhabitants of Manchester, alarmed for the violent obstinacy of the Parliamentarians, which they conceived to be an ungrateful return for their sovereign's conciliatory proclamations, had a conference with his lordship, wherein they professed their strong desire to avoid the threatened effusion of blood, which was too great a price for the paltry quantity of ammunition that had been removed and secreted. They therefore offered of their own free will to purchase as much powder as had been conveyed away by the Parliamentary Commissioners, and to deposit it in the empty room of the College, for the free use of the King ; and in order that unanimity might be restored, they invited his lordship to a banquet, but upon condition that he came unaccompanied by any persons except those who belonged to his own proper suite, and that he entered in a peaceable manner.

The acceptance which Lord Strange gave to this invitation, was followed by the most disastrous consequences. With no other intention than mere parade, he chose to enter the town as lord-lieutenant of the county, arrayed with the functions conferred upon him by his sovereign. In this official character he came accompanied by the high sheriff, as well as by a train of armed followers, which, conformably with the baronial ostentation of the times, was to an amount of not less than four hundred men. When this imposing cavalcade had passed the barriers of the town, some of the attendants, with great inconsiderateness, manifested a sort of triumph at being thus freely admitted ; they paraded the streets with pistols cocked, and with the exulting exclamation, " the town's our own ! the town's our own ! " But the greatest imprudence followed. The high sheriff halted and began to read the King's commission of array. The townsmen remonstrated that such a proceeding spoke for war rather than for peace, and were inclined to doubt the promise of forbearance to which Lord Strange was pledged. Secret directions were

therefore given that a band of musketeers and pikemen should arm themselves, and lie in ambush, ready to sally forth on the first notice of alarm.

It is easy to anticipate, from such a mutual suspicion and mistrust which subsisted, the result which really happened. If Lord Strange was imprudent in entering the town in so cavalier-like a manner, the Parliamentarians, on their part, were by no means less disposed by dint of arms to infringe on the conviviality of the banquet. Thus it is stated, that "while Lord Strange and the Manchester party were sitting at dinner, Captain Holcroft and Captain Birch (firm Parliamentarians) with their forces, entered the town, and beat to arms." Here then was a decided breach of the armistice. As a matter of course, Lord Strange would naturally beat his own drum; and what follows may be learned from the statement of the Parliamentarians:

"The townsmen came in sight, and informed the royalists of the conditions they came upon. Lord Strange's men rode upon them, gave them coarse language, and strove to disarm them. A skirmish ensued. They sorely wounded and killed one another; and one Richard Percival, a linen-webster of Kirkmanshulme, was slain by the royalists under the command of his lordship. People exclaimed against this behaviour. Mr Smith and Mr Barret were in extreme danger of being pulled to pieces, they and their houses, for speaking against them. It rained very hard; this made them stop. This was the first blood that was shed in the Parliament's cause."^p

After this affair Lord Strange retired into Cheshire. He was there resisted by Sir William Brereton, and other gentlemen of the county, and prevented from seizing the county magazine.

In August 1642, the King resolved to set up his standard at Nottingham. Lancashire was expected to have been selected as the place, but the King acted judiciously in avoiding a county on the verge, within itself, of a religious war, and where the royal cause had already suffered much by being identified with a popish faction. The preference thus given to Nottingham disappointed a few of the Lancashire gentry, whose pride was even so piqued as to determine them to remain neutral.

^p In a MS. note on this account written at the time, it is added, that "three neighbours returning from Manchester home were pursued by a troop of horse; one of them, Mr Harrison, was taken and wounded by part of the troop. Another part continued their pursuit of the other two; one of them cast a shoe, yet by the enemy's missing the road once or twice, and casting a shoe also, and one telling them they were a mile before, when the enemy were hard at their heels, they escaped, and the taken and wounded were secured by the bill-men. Mr Sandiforth was one."

The House of Commons was soon afterwards employed in deep consultation, how they could bring Lord Strange to punishment for the transaction at Manchester. The result of their deliberation was, that on the 14th September 1642, Sir Robert Harley brought up to the House of Lords an impeachment of high treason against his Lordship.

AN IMPEACHMENT OF HIGH TREASON EXHIBITED IN PARLIAMENT AGAINST JAMES LORD STRANGE, SON AND HEIR APPARENT OF WILLIAM EARL OF DERBY, BY THE COMMONS ASSEMBLED IN PARLIAMENT, IN THE NAME OF THEMSELVES AND ALL THE COMMONS OF ENGLAND.—ORDERED TO BE PRINTED, SEPTEMBER 16, 1642.

“ That the said James Lord Strange, to the intent and purpose to subvert the fundamental laws and government of this kingdom, and the rights and liberties, and very being of Parliaments, and to set sedition between the King and his people, did, on the 15th day of July, in this present year of our Lord God, 1642, at Manchester, in the county of Lancaster, and at several other times and places, actually, maliciously, rebelliously, and treacherously, summon and call together great numbers of his Majesty’s subjects, and incite, persuade, and encourage them to take up arms, and levy war against the King’s Parliament and kingdom : That the said James Lord Strange, in further prosecution of his foresaid wicked, traitorous, and malicious purposes, did, upon the said 15th day of July, at Manchester aforesaid, and at several other times and places, actually, maliciously, rebelliously, and traitorously, raise great forces of men and horse, and levy war against the King’s Parliament and kingdom ; and in further prosecution of the aforesaid wicked, traitorous, and malicious purposes, the said James Lord Strange, and divers other persons whom he had drawn into his party and faction, did also, upon the said 15th day of July, at Manchester aforesaid, maliciously and traitorously, with force and arms, and in a hostile and warlike manner, kill, murder, and destroy Richard Percival of Kirkmanshulme, in the said county of Lancaster, linen-webster ; and did then and there, and at divers other times and places, in like hostile manner, as aforesaid, shoot, stab, hurt, and wound divers others of his Majesty’s good subjects, contrary to the laws and peace of this kingdom of England, and contrary to his Majesty’s royal crown and dignity : And the said James Lord Strange hath set sedition between the king and his people, and now is in open and actual rebellion against the King’s Parliament and kingdom ; for which matters and thing the knights, citizens, and burgesses of the House of Commons in

Parliament assembled, do in the names of themselves, and of all the commons of England, impeach the said James Lord Strange of high treason : And the said commons by protestation, (saving to themselves the liberty of exhibiting at any time hereafter any other accusation or impeachment against the said Lord Strange, and also of replying to the answers that the said James Lord Strange shall make to the premises, or any of them, or to any other impeachment or accusation that shall be exhibited by them as the cause, according as the course and proceedings of Parliament shall require,) do pray that the said James Lord Strange may be put to answer all and every the premises, and that such proceedings, examinations, trials, and judgments may be upon them and upon every one of them, had and used, as shall be agreeable to law and justice."

To this was subjoined the following order :—

" *Veneris*, 16th September 1642. Whereas the Lord Strange having continued a long time, and still remaining in actual rebellion against his Majesty and Parliament, is for the same impeached of high treason by the House of Commons of England ; it is therefore ordered by the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, that publication be made thereof in all churches and chapels by the curates and church-wardens thereof, and in all markets and towns by the constables and officers of the towns, within the counties of Lancaster and Chester, to the end that all his Majesty's loving subjects may have notice thereof, lest they, being deceived by the specious pretences made by the said Lord Strange, should assist him with men, money, ammunition, or any other provision, and so make themselves guilty of the like treason and rebellion ; and all sheriffs and others, his Majesty's subjects, are hereby required to do their best endeavour for the apprehension of the said Lord, and the bringing him up to the Parliament, there to receive condign punishment according to his demerits."

The Commons likewise meditated the punishment of other Lancashire royalists. Sir John Girlington, Sir George Middleton, and Sir Edward Fitton were summoned to the House as delinquents.

About this time the Puritans of Manchester were strengthened by the resources of Lord Wharton, the parliamentary Lord Lieutenant of the county of Lancaster, and commander of the Lancashire militia. Hastily trained levies, collected by the neighbouring gentry, were formed, and a body of militia marched into the town.

It will now be expedient to advert to the general state of the kingdom. The King and Parliament were availing themselves of all their resources to take the field against each other. Most of the high nobility flocked to the royal standard.

London and the greatest part of the large cities where puritanism had met with a ready diffusion had declared for the Parliament. With this last party likewise ranged such individuals as had been enriched by commerce, and were disappointed that they could not rank with the ancient families. Another class which joined the King consisted of those whom Hume describes as being fond of pleasure, as taking no interests in the disputes of one party or another, but as being glad to breathe a purer air without being bound by the precise and melancholic austerity which reigned in the opposite faction. The Earl of Essex was appointed general of the Parliamentary army, and he soon found himself at the head of fifteen thousand men. The King declared to his army his attachment to the English Protestant Church, in which he hoped to live and die, and his determination to maintain the just privileges of Parliament.

From Nottingham the King proceeded to Chester. Lord Strange, who attended his Majesty, was directed to get ready his forces in Lancashire, but in the state of party feeling which then subsisted, the undertaking was one of extreme delicacy and difficulty.—This may be now explained.

The Puritans of Lancashire, as we have before remarked, had originally considered themselves at variance with their monarch, only in proportion as he showed favour to the Papists who dwelt among them ; and if there had been no other circumstance than this connected with the state of party feeling in the county, the proper line of conduct open to Lord Strange would have been easy enough. He would have reflected that while the Papists were the lesser body, they were formidable, because they were an united people ; but that the great mass of the population was puritanically inclined. The acquisition, therefore, of a single Papist in the cause of Charles, would necessarily be at the expence of a far greater number of the opposite and Protestant party ; and hence the danger of enlisting Catholics in the service of his Majesty. But precipitate acts had caused a change of circumstances. Ever since the seizure of the county magazines, and the unfortunate affair at Manchester, the Puritans had conceived of Charles as in confederacy with the Papists to throw them into the power of their inveterate enemies ; and so firmly rooted was this conviction, that in vain did Lord Strange attempt to persuade them that the royal cause was perfectly distinct from such narrow sectarian considerations, and that, in enforcing the commission of array, he was himself solely actuated by loyalty to his sovereign. The misconception which prevailed was again pernicious in another point of view. Several gentlemen of the county who were known royalists felt the greatest reluctance in embarking in a cause, the object of which had been so grossly misrepresented. When Lord Strange, therefore, found that the Lancashire

Protestants entered tardily into his Majesty's service, no alternative seemed left to him except to court alliance with the Catholics, though this was in the face of a royal proclamation which declared that no Popish recusant should be allowed to serve in the army of the King. In order, however, to overcome this difficulty, he sanctioned, with his earnest recommendation, a petition which the Papists were preparing to lay before the throne, wherein it was prayed, that they might be received into his Majesty's protection, and that they might have their arms delivered to them for the defence of the royal person. But before an answer could arrive, his lordship, upon his individual responsibility, was tempted to admit a considerable number of the Papists into the force under his command.

The approaching civil contest in Lancashire now began to assume an aspect different in its kind to that of any other county in England. The Puritans had no farther interest in the Parliamentary cause than the sanction which it gave them to carry on a war of extermination against the Papists ;—it was never a question with them what wounds the King had inflicted against the civil constitution, but what head they could make against their Antichristian foes, whom they accused of having no farther attachment to royalty than the use which they could make of it as a pretext to repeat in Lancashire the massacres which had been perpetrated in Ireland. The Catholics, on the other hand, were assembling to fight beneath the royal standard, in the hopes of reinstating a sovereign who was favourable to a repeal of the penal statutes in force against popery ; and they were inflamed to the last degree against the Puritans, to whom they attributed all the political privations which they had suffered for many years.

Such was the state of party feeling in Lancashire ; the real cause of contention between King and Parliament having been lost sight of, while religious fury alone nerved the arm of Papist and of Puritan.

During this year the solemn league and covenant was submitted to the Puritans of Manchester. The Parliament of England had entered into a firm alliance with Scotland, and a new covenant was formed, which imposed on all who subscribed to it an obligation to employ the whole of their zeal in the extirpation of papism, prelacy, superstition, heresy, schism, profaneness, and whatsoever should be found contrary to sound doctrine and the power of godliness ; to persevere against all opposition, and to deliver to justice all such, as by hindering the reformation of religion, by dividing the King from his people, or one of the kingdoms from another, or by making any faction or parties among the people, contrary to the league or covenant, were deemed to be incendiaries and malignants. The covenant also contained an engagement to bring the churches of God in the three kingdoms to

the nearest conjunction and uniformity in religion, confession of faith, form of church government, and catechising. The Commons first set the example of subscription, though, as Hume has remarked, there were many in the House who professed their attachment to the hierarchy, but whose scruples were stifled by the more numerous party. It was likewise required that all who acknowledged the authority of the Commons should subscribe. In Manchester, warden Heyrick was the first who took the covenant, and he was eagerly followed by the Puritans of the town, to whom the obligation to extirpate popery out of the land was particularly grateful.

Warlike preparations were now actively going on. It is stated that "the King's party in Cheshire, under the command of Sir Edward Fitton and Mr Thomas Leigh of Adlington, did plunder, pillage, and disarm those of the opposite party, and take from them such arms and other implements as they had provided for the safety and protection of themselves and their families. This so alarmed the country people around Manchester, that they assembled themselves together, in one large body, and marched immediately into the town, and joined the militia and the townsmen there."

When Lord Strange had collected together his band of royalists, he signified his intention to commence the campaign by avenging himself of the wrongs he had received from Manchester. The town accordingly prepared for its own defence; but amidst the great ignorance of warfare which prevailed, its own resources were few. During this dilemma, Colonel Roseworm, a German engineer, whom the news of a civil war had invited to England, made his appearance in Lancashire. He had learned that this county was likely to be very soon a scene of hostilities, and he came to offer his services to either King or Parliament that would be inclined to purchase them. His first offer was made to the inhabitants of Manchester at a time when they felt much embarrassment in attempting to strengthen their town against the impending siege. He proposed to superintend its fortifications, for which good service thirty gentlemen covenanted to give him the immense sum of thirty pounds! Their names were as follows:

Ric. Heyrick, (warden,)	Roger Worthington,	Robert Lever,
Will. Radcliffe,	Richard Meare,	Nich. Hawet,
Ric. Howarth,	Henry Bradshaw,	Thomas Ellingworth,
Rowland Hunt,	Tho. Lancashire,	Mich. Buxton,
William Dean,	Richard Lomax,	Rap. Wallin,
John Hartley,	Thomas Mynshull,	Hugh H. Williams.
John Gaskell,	Edward Johnson,	
Edward Holbrook,	Lawrence Owen,	

Colonel Roseworm was a great acquisition to the Parliamentarians of Manchester. He was a soldier well versed in the best method of fortification which was practised in his time, and he was familiar with the discipline of an army. His experience in the thirty-years war of Germany had likewise taught him the various artifices, the ruses and the systems of espionage which were practised in campaigns. But though an adept in the knavish department of his profession, he was never known to have turned it to the disadvantage of the commander who had purchased his services, but to the last moment of his engagement was faithful and honourable to his trust. When the term for which he was bound had expired, he was then free to dispose of himself to any other contending party, even though it should be to the enemy whom he had the day before opposed. It is needless to add of this complete soldier of fortune, that he never inquired into the merit of the cause for which he fought,—whether it was the cause of Pagan or of Christian, of Papist or of Protestant, of roundhead or of cavalier. He possessed much vanity, for which his unquestionable military knowledge may plead some excuse.

On the day following his engagement with Manchester, Roseworm had a much better offer from the King's party, which he thus relates: "The very next morning after my contract, my Lord of Derby sent two gentlemen to me with L. 150, as a present from his lordship, with an invitation to attend him at Latham. 'Twas easie to see what the drift of this kindness was. But L. 30, if backed by my promise, contract, or engagement, I have ever learned to value above all offers, honesty being more worth than gold. Returning, therefore, my thanks for the Earl's noblesse, and the mony with my thanks, I dismissed these gentlemen, and addressed myself to my trust."

The German soldier's first care was to give directions for the chaining up and fortifying the ends of the town, which was at first begun with great diligence; but, as he states, "he found great opposition from the other party." This other party was that of the few loyalists in the town, who strenuously adhered to the cause of the monarch, and threatened to take away Roseworm's life.

Soon afterwards the siege of Manchester followed, of which we unfortunately possess no other accounts than those which have been furnished by the Parliamentary party. With the exception of Roseworm's narrative, they are written in a style of great puritanic affectation, which nevertheless throws much light on the religious character of the contest. An abstract from them may be therefore given, accompanied with a few explanatory comments.

Abstract from the Parliamentary accounts of the siege of Manchester.

The Puritans of Manchester entered with enthusiasm into the labour of defend-

ing the town. The aged Mr Bourne, a fellow of the College, and the father of the Manchester Puritans, whose religious enthusiasm had first recommended him to the notice of Bishop Chaderton, was then so stricken in years and infirm, that he was considered on the brink of the grave. But when he heard the inhabitants called upon to unite against the Papists who were in array against them under the protection of the royal standard, "he was lifted up," says his panegyrist, "from the gates of death, and raised in the spirit to promote this work." The presence of this ancient champion of the puritanic cause was welcomed as foreboding triumph to the saints. "He has long been a blessing to the town," it was exclaimed, "having seen a resurrection of it from the plague nigh forty years before."

Lord Strange's forces were now complete. They consisted of 4000 foot, 200 dragoons, and 100 horsemen, besides seven pieces of ordnance of four to six pounds calibre.

At this time there were in town about 150 of Mr Ralph Assheton of Middleton's tenants in complete arms, commanded by Captain Bradshaw, together with the town's forces under the command of Captain Radcliff.^a

September 22d, "Thursday afternoon," says the writer of Lancashire's Vale of Achor, "about fourteen of our men (the parliamentarians) went to Ordsall, we being encompassed with about 300 musketeers from Pilkington, &c. and terrified by the Lord Strange, the Sheriffe, and others.

"September 23d.—On Friday, posts, chains, and mud-walls were completed for defence by Colonel Roseworm.

"On Saturday, September 24th, in the night came certain intelligence to the town, that great forces were coming from Warrington against it, conducted by Lord Strange, Lord Molineux, and many other gentlemen, who were all assisted with men and money. Hereupon the bells were rung, and posts sent to every part of the country about to give notice of their danger, who cheerfully and courageously, upon the beating of a drum, repaired to the end of the town, resolving (by God's assistance) to maintain their liberty and property with the utmost hazard of their lives. The town had but one piece of cannon. They wanted match and powder. They got several barrels of powder from Ashton-under-Line; and a bill-man was found to be a good match maker, which was a seasonable relief. Ancoats Hall likewise supplied them with some powder.

"On the same day the breaking of a wheel, which carried the ordnance of Lord Strange's party, retarded the forces of the besiegers.

^a Captain Radcliff lived at Radcliff Hall, situated in the Pool-Fold, in Manchester.

"September 25th.—On Sunday the besiegers gave the alarm. They came not in view of the town till about nine o'clock on the Lord's day, in the morning, and at that time sundry companies appeared in open view. The besiegers fired some poor houses and rich barns near the town,—any thing to advance the Catholic cause. They used Salford for their stalking horse, and much disheartened both our officers and soldiers, not being used to war ; but more soldiers came into the town. Captain Bradshaw from Boulton, Mr Richard Holland of Denton, Captain John Booth, youngest son of Sir George Booth of Dunham, and other worthy gentlemen, with their tenants, and others, their neighbours, came in cheerfully. It rained on this day very hard, which proved of great use to the besieged."

Lord Strange's forces on their march divided. A part passed through Cheshire, and took up a position on the south side of the town of Manchester, at a house of Sir Edward Mosley's, called the Lodge. This division of the troops was under the immediate command of Lord Strange. The other part marched along the opposite bank of the Mersey and Irwell towards Salford, and on their route forded a small rivulet, swelled to a great height by a fall of heavy rain.—"Then two gentlemen (from Manchester) sent to know the reason of (the royalists) coming in such an hostile manner. His lordship stayed one of them as an hostage, and sent Captain Windebanke to require entrance, that his army might take instant possession of the town in the name of the King, which was unanimously denied him. All this time Salford joined not with Manchester in a common defence.

"On Monday, September 26th, Lord Strange sent another messenger to the same purpose as before, promising to use the town kindly ; otherwise fearful destruction might ensue ; but his requests were not granted, nor his threats regarded."—All attempts at negociation having failed, his lordship gave orders for the troops on the right bank of the Irwell to take possession of Salford, which they did without any opposition, (for the inhabitants of that place had already declared for the King,) and the forces were stationed opposite Salford Bridge. About twelve o'clock the same day, under a heavy fall of rain, "the fight was first begun by Lord Strange and his forces, which were in and about a house of Sir Edward Mosley's, called the Lodge, where they planted some of their ordnance, and at the same time was seconded by an assault that they made from Salford Bridge," which point was under the special defence of Roseworm and a band of fifty musketeers. "The bullets that were taken up weighed between four and six pounds a-piece. And this afternoon the battle was hot on both sides. Most of the townsmen constantly charged and discharged most resolutely, to the great ad-

miration and terror of the enemy. But it pleased God that their cannon played in vain upon the town. Now these and many the like visible expressions of God's providence and protection so encouraged our soldiers, that (as some of themselves said,) they went as merrily to meet their enemies in the hottest skirmishes as to a feast; and many of them were heard to say to one another, "Go on courageously, through the name of the Lord, we shall destroy them; they fall down flat, but we do rise and stand up steadfastly by our God." Also, from first to last, they had prayers and singing of psalms daily at the ends of the streets, most of them being honest and religious men, and of a very civil and inoffensive conversation, and came out of conscience of their oath and protestation. And the inhabitants and townsmen were very kind and respectful to the soldiers that thus assisted them, and all things were common among them. The gentlemen of the town made bullets night and day; the soldiers were most resolute and courageous, and feared nothing so much as a parley.

"When it had pleased God that the cannon of the enemy played in vain upon the town, they essayed to enter by beating the defendants out of their works, which they being not able to do, sent some of their soldiers to fire two barns, and eight or ten dwelling houses, about twelve rods from the outworks, which they effected. The enemy with great shouting then cried out, 'the town is ours, the town is ours,' and renewed the assault." Colonel Roseworm was obliged to send twenty of his musketeers in aid of Captain Bradshaw at the Deansgate, "by whose valour the enemies were beaten back, and many of them slain in the assault. A house at the end of Deansgate was burnt. The wind at the first blew the flames and smoke into the face of our soldiers, to their great annoyance, and endangering the town; but God, who rides upon the wings of the wind, suddenly turned it till the rage of the fire was abated."

During this attack the house of Sir Edward Mosley was burnt.—"Here the cavaliers had been well entertained. They lodged with Mosley, and paid a good round reckoning in smoke and ashes, since which a cooler fire took down their lodging."

"Those forces which were in Salford endeavoured in the afternoon to enter the bridge, where they found such hot entertainment at the hands of Colonel Roseworm and his soldiers, that they were there also forced to retreat with the loss of some of their men."—"That afternoon," says Colonel Roseworm, "though much weakened with the loss of men sent to the succour of Captain Bradshaw, I was numerously assaulted; but through the goodness of Him who sowed us, my thirty musketeers (having no breast-work but a chain) gave them a sound repulse."—

"The enemy then having possessed a house at the foot of the bridge, continued all night keeping up a fire.

"In this day's fight the town lost not a man."

Tuesday, September 27th.—"In the morning, a soldier of the enemy's was taken, being mortally wounded, who confessed that he was one of the seven that set the barn on fire, and lived but a day after he was apprehended."—"On this day," says Roseworm, who was still stationed at Salford Bridge, "the enemy played at us with his great pieces, which being a strange noise and terrour to my raw men, sixteen of them took their heels, the rest, some for fear of my drawn sword, others out of gallantry, resolving rather to die than to forsake me, stuck close to me, and to the safety of their town. I was now few in number, but found some pitie from some other gallant hearts, who voluntarily came unto my assistance, making up my number twenty-eight."

"The same day," says another writer, "there was an assault made at the other end of the town, at the Market-street-lane, which was repulsed by Captain Ratcliff and his company; the townsmen likewise sallied out, took divers prisoners, and slew and put to flight others that were straggling in the fields. Five of Lord Strange's soldiers entered the house of James Smith of Chorlton Row. He ran into a chamber. Three of them pursued with drawn swords, swearing to slit out his heart; the fourth having a musket, resolved to do the execution. God sends up the fifth, who in coming up jostled the musketman, and removed the mouth of the piece, which killed one of his own fellows. During this time the deputy-lieutenant, Captain Chantwell, and other vigilant and prudent gentlemen of the town, took great pains, night and day, to see that the soldiers did their duty in their several places and stations, and to encourage and advise them therein."

About five o'clock that evening, Lord Strange is said to have sounded for a parley. Roseworm states, that "the enemy, finding their assault not to take succeſſe, nor their cannons to terrifie us as at the first, several parleys, sore against my will, were sent into the town, whereof I gave my souldiers a little notice, with encouragements to stand out to the utmost." The message which Lord Strange sent was as follows:—

"In obedience to his Majesty's command, I have drawn some forces hither with no intention of prejudice to your town, nor any person in it, but to require your ready obedience to his Majesty, in yielding yourselves dutifully and cheerfully to his protection, which I once more (so great is the value I set upon the effusion of one drop of my country's blood,) summon you to, under this assurance, that no man's person or goods shall be harmed, so you give up your arms to be disposed of by

me, according to his Majesty's command; but if you shall yet continue obstinate in your disobedience, and resolve to stand it out, I will in that way proceed with all honour, by offering you a safe convoy of your women and children out of the town, so that it be done immediately."

The town of Manchester in reply required some little time, namely, until the following morning, to consider these terms; but the object for requesting the armistice involved in it very bad faith. Colonel Holland expected to be reinforced that evening from Bolton with one hundred and fifty men; and it was anticipated that during the cessation of arms which had been agreed upon, aided also by the darkness of the night, these men could be clandestinely introduced into the town.

Soon after this temporary cessation of hostilities, Lord Strange's troops were apprised of the true motive which induced a request for the armistice. It cannot, therefore, excite great surprise, that in their indignation, the cavaliers should, as the parliamentarians have stated, "fall to plundering and pillaging many houses about the town, the countrymen rising upon them with bills, staves, and pitch-forks, and driving them off; some, however, giving a part to save the rest." His lordship, however, took care to punish Colonel Holland's breach of faith. He sallied forth to attack the reinforcement from Bolton, slew two of the men belonging to it, and put the rest to rout; then, to avoid further treachery, ordered a battery of two or more pieces of ordnance to be planted in Salford."

"It is due to Colonel Roseworm to add, that in his great unwillingness to lose his vantage ground by a parley with Lord Strange, he seems to have been perfectly unacquainted with the motives by which Colonel Holland had been actuated, and from which the German's high sense of military honour would no doubt have revolted."

At the appointed time, namely, at 7 o'clock on Wednesday morning, the 28th of September, the town of Manchester returned to Lord Strange an answer, which, from its style, appears to have been written by Warden Heyrick. It is an important document in the history of the Lancashire rebellion, inasmuch as it exhibits the religious character of the contest, which involved in it few or none of the ac-

The account given by the Manchester puritans of this business is in a strange style. "The agreement was exactly performed on the town's side. But that very same night, the enemy was very busy in plundering and pillaging many houses about the town, to the great prejudice of the inhabitants thereof, if not their utter undoing; and also slew two neighbours in Bolton, *which were coming peaceably with about 150 more to assist the town*, and planted two pieces of ordnance in Salford."

tual disputes between King and Parliament, being absolutely a strife between Papist and Puritan. It also illustrates the misconception which prevailed respecting the object of Lord Strange's hostility, and the consequent injury which the royal cause received from being wrongly identified with that of the Roman Catholics :—

“ May it Please your Honour

“ To receive this answer to your propositions. We are not conscious to ourselves of any act committed by us, that you should in the least kinde divest us, his Majestie's loyall subjects, of his royall protection, nor to any disobedience to his Majestie's command ; for we can no way persuade ourselves that his Majestie, who hath so often and so solemnly declared to rule his people by his lawes, and to preserve the propertie of our estates, should now require us to give away our arms, which are (under God) one means of our lawful defence against malignant enemies, and multitudes of bloody Papists, which do abound in our county; and had not God by his infinite mercie prevented, had, ere this day, made the like rebellion in our country, and committed the like barbarous outrages against us, and all others of the true Protestant religion, as their bloody brethren have done in Ireland, seeing they are acted by the same hellish principles as they : And we cannot but much wonder, that your Honour should come against us in such an open hostile manner to take away our armes, which is so absolutely against all law and the right of the subject, which we are bound and faithfully resolved to maintain, according to our late solemn protestation.

“ And we can by no means be assured by your Lordship of the safety of our persons and goods, if we deliver up our arms, seeing, since this treaty, some of our neighbours' houses, being Protestants, have been plundered, or attempted to be plundered ; and some of our friends coming in a peaceable way to our relief have been cruelly murdered and slain by some of your soldiers.”

Some few hours after the town of Manchester had returned its answer, Lord Strange was willing to propose more advantageous offers. He sent Sir John Mounson to again mediate, who promised, upon the surrender of one hundred muskets by the town, to withdraw his forces and march away. Colonel Holland, whose hopes of a reinforcement during the preceding evening had been disappointed, was probably actuated by this secret reason to close with the offer ; but he was on this occasion resisted by Roseworm, who has related with much minuteness the very curious altercation which took place in consequence. “ Colonel Holland, understanding my averseness, earnestly pressed me to condescend to the

motion, using withall these three reasons :—First, said he, we have neither powder nor match. I confesse I had only six pound of the one, and eighteen fathom of the other ; but this was onely known to myself. Secondly, the countrymen (said he, though falsely,) will stay no longer, their own houses and goods lying open to the mercy of the enemie. Thirdly, said he, the enemie is increased in strength. With these arguments did he not onely urge, but almost command the embracing of the proposals. I related these things to my souldiers, who unanimously resolving never to yield so long as I would stand out, and they had an inch of match, or a shot of powder. My heart leaped at such courage, and thereupon I peremptorily refused any terms whatever, which so passionately moved Colonel Holland, that he left me in great anger and discontent. Immediately after this Mr Bourne, an aged and graved minister, came down to the bridge to me. I told him Colonel Holland's language, and the dangerous concernment it tended to. I advised him, that, if he desired to prevent the mischief which might ensue, he would immediately walk to the Deansgate, and from thence to the other centuries, using his best encouragements to prop up their hearts against any danger ; and assuring them from me, that whereas the enemy now made no assaults ; but where I was, I was confident, with the help of Almighty God, and my few men, to defend it against their whole power ; nor should they ever enter at my guard. The heartened old man quickly left, and followed my advice with such gravity and cheerfulness, that I cannot but ascribe much to it, as to the means of our preservation. Having thus prevailed for a refusall of all terms sent in by the enemy, our height of resolution to defend ourselves to the utmost was returned."

When Lord Strange found that his last offer was refused, he caused his ordnance to play again upon the town, but particularly upon those who were stationed on Salford Bridge. But Colonel Roseworm's musketeers being advantageously stationed in the Collegiate Church-yard, kept up a raking and galling fire, by which the royalists were dislodged. " All his Lordship's shots," he stated, " by God's providence, did not harm, save only that they killed a lad who stood gazing upon the top of a stile, and was shot through the side with a cannon-bullet ; but no other harm done thereby."

The remaining incidents of the siege may be described in the exact language of the Parliamentarians.

Thursday, September 29th.—" Captain Standish, eldest son of Mr Standish of Duxbury, coming against his father's consent, was looking through Robert Widow's door. As was reported, he was then reproaching his soldiers, because they would not fall on, upon whose death the soldiers fled away ; and other soldiers

also fled by scores, yea also by hundreds, they daily fled from Lord Strange."—"This siege," says Colonel Roseworm, "gave us leave, with about ten of my men, in open view, to fetch away a great number of good arms from them."

Friday, September 30.—"Little was done, only Lord Strange continued playing upon the town with his ordnance and musket-shot from Salford and the Lodge; and they cast up a trench upon the end of Deansgate, as if he had intended to make a long siege. His ordnance made holes in divers houses, and battered down a piece of a chimney, but did little harm else."—"It was reported that the Cheshire train band had promised one another that they would not go over Lancashire Bridge."

"The Lord Strange's soldiers, many of them wept, and protested their great unwillingness to fight against Manchester, affirming that they were deceived and deluded, or they would never have come thither."—"And thus at length the Earl of Derby was weary of this unsuccessful business, and the same night his cannons were removed. Mr Ardern of Ardern, a gentleman, not so religious as were to be wished, professed he had seen so much of God's providence, that he hoped it would do him good so long as he lived. A friend told him he wanted armour. He answered, he saw God's protection was instead of armour."

Saturday, October 1.—"Lord Strange desired that prisoners might be exchanged, and that plundering might cease on both sides; and it was answered, that the town's party had not plundered one house, but his Lordship's forces had plundered so many, that L.10,000 would not make a recompense."—Prisoners were accordingly exchanged.

"At the time of the parley or treaty of Lord Strange with the town, he asked a gentleman that came to see him, whether his cannon had not slain two or three hundred of our men; but he was answered, that it had but slain one single person at that time, and that was the boy on the stile; whereat he was amazed, and would hardly believe it."

About noon the same day, Lord Strange removed his forces from before the town.

"It was even admirable and wonderful, and might be thought a thing almost impossible, that so many bullets from the cannon and muskets should be shot at the town, and yet so few hurt; for there could not be less (on probable conjecture) than 4000 bullets shot from the enemy, small and great, and very near as many from the town, and yet not above four men killed, and as many wounded."

* It is added, that "a town's soldier was accidentally slain by one of his fellow soldier's pieces flying off unawares. The enemy's bullets, though they flew as thick as hail into the town, and about the townsmen, yet none of them was hurt. One bullet touched a man's lip and did him no

“ There were slain on Lord Strange’s side (as we credibly heard) about two hundred, and some commanders of note, three whereof were buried at Didsbury ; and the town lost but four men, whereof two by accident and two by the enemy, but no more in all.”

Such is the Parliamentary account of the siege of Manchester, the character of which, as a pure religious contest, will now be sufficiently evident. The Puritans of Lancashire had most obstinately persevered in identifying the cause of the Crown with that of the Papists, and were at this time more united than ever in opposition to the interests of the King. Under these circumstances, Charles conceived himself no longer under the obligation, in deference to these zealots, to exclude the Papists from strengthening the ranks of his army. His Majesty’s commission was accordingly sent to Sir William Gerrard, Baronet, Sir Cecil Trafford, Knight, and others of his Majesty’s subjects, recusants in the same county, charging and commanding them to provide, with all possible speed, sufficient arms for the defence of his Majesty’s person or them, against all force raised by any colour, or any order or ordnance whatsoever, against his Majesty’s consent. And no sooner was this permission granted than the Catholics raised a considerable body of troops to assist the royal cause.

The annals of Manchester now begin to comprize few incidents except such as are connected with intestine warfare. The recital of these might be supposed to belong less to the ecclesiastical than to the civil history of the town ; but this would be to lose sight of the great cause which gave them birth. The deadly opposition of the Lancashire Puritans manifested towards their Catholic brethren had its origin with Bishop Chaderton while he was warden of Manchester College. Its maturity was aided by the vindictive harangues of Mr Heyrick ; and its crisis took place when Puritan and Papist were excited to draw the sword against each other, under the pretext of fighting for King and Parliament.

We have little knowledge of the civil commotions in which the town was engaged, except from the detached notices of Parliamentary writers. These will be given in a chronological order, and as frequently as possible in the language of the authors.

more hurt ; another cut off a soldier’s bandaleers as they hung by his side, and touched not his body ; yea, a cannon bullet came so near Captain Bradshaw, as that it touched his arm ; yet none of them received any serious harme.”

Parliamentarian accounts of the civil commotions of Manchester.

October 3d.—“ Divers letters reached the Parliament from Cheshire and Lancashire, relating to the siege of Manchester, by Lord Strange ; and they ordered them, and the state of the business of the county, to be referred to the committee of the safety of the kingdom ; and so anxious were they to preserve, not only so important a station as the town, but the whole county, that they ordered Captain Ven to recommend the business to the committee at London, and desire them to expedite and send down their levies of dragoons with all possible dispatch into Lancashire. All prisoners taken at Manchester or thereabouts were to be delivered into the care of the deputy-lieutenants, and by them either to be committed into prison, or else sent up to the Parliament, as they in their discretion should think most convenient.”

A public thanksgiving to God for his gracious deliverance of Manchester was ordered by the Commons to be observed in all churches and chapels throughout Lancashire.

October 5th.—“ An alarm was given that the cavaliers were coming against the town the second time. This bred some disquiet, but served to awake unto and sweeten the following day of thanksgiving, which was kept without distraction, blessed be God.”

October 6th. (A day of thanksgiving.)—“ Our drums and muskets that had formerly sounded terror to our enemies kept silence in the church, while the saints sung the song of Moses ; and when their time and turn came to utter their voice in the open air, with a loud noise and one consent, clapping their hands apace, they reported God, fearful in praises, doing wonders.”

By the recent demise of the Earl of Derby, James Lord Strange, his eldest son, succeeded to the estate and titles.

October 10th.—“ The false alarm (of a preceding day) being repeated, God advanced to lay a garrison in the town, which God intended to use for offence as well as defence.”

The House of Commons received several letters, dated on the 7th and 8th instant, from Manchester, relating to the state of the town, namely, that the Earl of Derby, late Lord Strange, had left the siege on Saturday night last, and retired to his house at Latham. And on the 11th, a whole relation of the actions

¹ Some of the notices here selected are from Mr Palmer's History of the Siege of Manchester.

of the Earl and his forces before Manchester, and of the courage of the inhabitants of the town for their defence, was read and ordered to be printed."

October 11th.—"Some powder coming from the south of Manchester was stopped by the King's forces; but some came safe from Hull, the 14th of October. The 22d day some powder arrived, and on the 24th some coming was stayed. The joy of the last supply was sadly tampered by the accidental mortal wound of a skilful and active soldier, Mr Edward Byrom's son."

"The Parliament ordered that the feoffees of the Free Grammar School of Manchester should not renew the lease of the town's mills to Mr Prestwich, or any other for his use, which had expired at the feast of St Michael, the archangel, then past, because he was one of the persons who assisted at the siege of the town on the part of the royalists. The said feoffees were required, according to the trust in them reposed, to convert the profits of the said mills, and in default thereof, the profits of the mills were sequestered into the hands of Richard Holland and Peter Egerton, Esquires, by them to be employed for the use of the school.

The garrison in Manchester was now maintained at a heavy charge to the town. The Commons, therefore, on the 29th of October, ordered the engineers and officers of the several companies lying in garrison at Manchester to have their arrears paid them out of the delinquents' estates, and, for security thereof, in the meantime, they were to have the public faith; and the same was confirmed by the Lords on the 1st of November.

News came that Sir Alexander Ratcliff of Ordsall, Knight, an active royalist at the siege of Manchester, was taken prisoner in Essex, and by the Commons on the 2d of November was committed to the tower.

"Early in November the Parliamentarians began to strengthen the fortifications and augment the garrison of the town; and for greater strength and security, Ralph Assheton, Esq. had granted to him, on the 3d of November, *Mr Speaker's warrant*, (as was usual in those times) to convey, without interruption, four small brass pieces of cannon to the town of Manchester, and also one small brass piece for the safety of his own house at Middleton." "

November 24th, 1642.—The Parliament passed an order for the further relief of Manchester:—"Whereas the Lords and Commons are informed that the town of Manchester, and some other parts within the county palatine of Lancaster, have for a long time been at excessive charges for the defence of such as were well affected to the proceedings of the Parliament, from the injuries, oppressions,

^u Mr Palmer's History of the Siege of Manchester.

illegal and exorbitant practices of the commissioners of array, the Papists, and other malignant persons within the county, especially now when their power doth much increase by the general rising of the Papists there, and therefore have great need of a supply of strength, which was long since expected ; yet, on the contrary, they will be forced to disband their garrison of soldiers, which they have maintained as long as they are able, and will so expose themselves not only to the violence of their enemies, but much dishonour the cause and weaken the good party, unless they have some present supply of money. Therefore, it is ordered by the Lords and Commons in Parliament, that for such moneys or plate as Mr Thomas Case, or any other person shall underwrite for the defence of Lancashire, and the reducing of the malignant party there, they shall have the public faith to be repayed with satisfaction after L. 8 per cent. ; and that Sir John Wollaston, Knight, Alderman Warner, Alderman Towse, and Alderman Andrews, take subscriptions, and issue the same for the use of the said county, so as may best conduce for the service thereof to the House of Commons."

About this time a committee of propositions was established in the town, which had authority from the Parliament to receive the contribution money, or any other provision from the inhabitants of Chester, or the adjacent countries, and to dispose of it, or any other monies or provision raised upon this occasion for the public good. In consequence of this trust reposed in them, they sent on the 3d of December proposals to the house for raising " dragooners," which they referred to their committee for dispatch.

November 27th, 1642.—The royal array took the town of Blackburn, and sent out a party to disarm Whalley. The Parliamentary militia were roused, and, as it is added, " a shield was given to Manchester, and a sword to Blackburn." They were fired with more than common zeal to commence the task of rooting out popery from the land.

On the 2d of December, Sir Cecyll Trafford, denounced as an Arch-papist, was made prisoner at Manchester.

In the same month, two companies belonging to the Manchester regiment, quartered themselves in Wigan as a protection to it. They plundered a Papist's house near this town, and afterwards proceeded with the same object in view to another mansion near Houghton Common. In this last expedition, they were reinforced by more of the troops from Manchester, led by Colonels Holland and Roseworm. A band of royalists then made its appearance, and an engagement ensued. The Manchester troops were defeated with loss : several were killed, and three captains and eight score private soldiers were made prisoners.

The town was, however, intent upon regaining its former credit. Fasting and prayer were ordered, and another expedition was contemplated.

“ Having declared my judgment,” says Colonel Roseworm, “ that, unless we did something speedily against the Earl, he would get head again and do us new mischief, we therefore gathered our forces together, went out, and, upon December 24th, we shattered the enemy at Chowbent, and the same night we took Leigh by assault, returning again within three days.”

The general affairs of the kingdom may now be briefly noticed. The Princes Rupert and Maurice, who had offered their services to Charles, had gained some slight advantages over the Earl of Essex. The battle of Edgehill was a drawn engagement. The Earl of Newcastle had established the authority of the King in the provinces of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Durham. The Parliamentary general for the north of England was Sir Thomas Fairfax.

On the 12th of January 1643, Sir Thomas Fairfax came to Manchester, making it his head quarters. He resided here until the 21st, when he marched to relieve the town of Nantwich with 2500 foot, and twenty-eight troops of horse. The forces from Manchester greatly plundered the houses of the Cheshire royalists and occupied Nantwich.

Upon the departure of Sir Thomas Fairfax from Manchester, Sir John Seaton, major-general of the Parliamentary forces in Lancashire, made Manchester his head quarters. An expedition against Preston, which was in the possession of the Royalists, having been planned, February 7th and 8th were appointed for fasting and prayer.

“ February 10th, 1643, Sir John Seaton, with the body of troops lying at Manchester, marched from thence towards the town of Preston, attended by Colonel Holland, Captain Booth, Sergeant-Major Birch, Sergeant-Major Sparrow, and with them three companies of foot, together with as many more from Bolton, who all met together at Blackburn, where they were joined by four or five companies of Blackburn Hundred, under the command of Captain Nowel of Merckly, and some other captains with about 2000 clubmen.

“ Having dispersed some parties who attempted to oppose their progress, and marched all night, they arrived at Preston the next evening. On the following morning preparation was made for storming the town, which was defended by a brick-wall, outer and inner.

“ The three companies which went from Manchester on this expedition distinguished themselves eminently. Captain Booth was the first that scaled the walls, crying out to his men, “ Follow me, or give me up for ever,” upon which they im-

mediately ascended, and Colonel Holland's troops were emulous to dispute with them the post of danger. The Manchestrans are said to have seized the enemies' muskets put through the loop holes in the walls. After a contest of two hours the town was taken.

"News then arrived that a large ship, with supplies for the King's forces in these parts, was wrecked on the sands near Preston. The Manchestrans, with some of the parliamentary forces, immediately hastened before the Earl of Derby could come up to seize her, and took out thence nineteen pieces of brass and two of iron ordnance, with a large quantity of ammunition and arms."

February 16th was held for a public thanksgiving in Manchester. On that day the Earl of Derby sought to recover his losses in Preston.

From Preston, the Manchester troops proceeded to Lancaster with the rest of the militia, three thousand in number. The royalists laid siege to the garrison, and after great resistance carried the town; but on hearing that two thousand men were sent in farther aid of the Parliament, they marched to Preston, which they recovered.

The Earl of Derby then meditated a new attack of Manchester, which he threatened to reduce or lay his bones before it. But this object failed by Lord Molyneux, upon whose support he calculated, having been summoned to join the royal army in Oxford.

On the 27th of March there was a fast at Manchester, and on the succeeding day Bolton was taken by the Parliamentarians. The national fast week followed. News came that the King had received a loan from the opulent Sir Edward Mosley of twenty thousand pounds.

The Manchester troops were now ordered to accompany the militia in march against Wigan. Battle was given to the Earl of Derby's forces, said to be fourteen hundred strong. The victory was on the side of the Parliament. About eight hundred of the Earl's troops were made prisoners, and one thousand stand of arms were taken. But what was more gratifying to the Puritans, the goods of Papists were seized to the amount, as it was reported, of twenty thousand pounds.

The forces in Manchester next experienced a variety of fortunes. Their ill successes are attributed to a spy of the name of Peter Heywood, who introduced himself among the councils of the officers, insinuating himself, probably by the extraordinary degree of sanctity which he assumed, into the good graces of Colonel Holland. He is thus described by Roseworm:—"This Mr Peter Heywood was a captain in Lancashire for the Parliament; was often in our private

consultations ; and by holding intelligence with the enemy, did us much mischief.”^x

After the battle of Wigan, the Manchester forces under the command of Colonel Holland, and accompanied by the German engineer, Colonel Roseworm, proceeded to attack Warrington, where they arrived on the 5th of April. This town, which was the strong hold of the Earl of Derby, proved impregnable. The indignant nobleman threatened to burn the place sooner than it should fall into the hands of his enemies. The besiegers on their very first assault were completely worsted, so that the Colonels Holland and Roseworm, as a manuscript account recites, “came home with grief, and shame, and loss.”^y

About this time the period during which Colonel Roseworm was engaged to fortify the town of Manchester became expired. The fortifications of the town were not completed, and a new siege by the enemy was expected soon to take place, particularly as Lord Molyneux was expected in Lancashire. Consequently a fresh engagement of the soldier of fortune became necessary. Colonel Roseworm relates the circumstances after the following manner :—“I kept this command of lieutenant-colonel during the residue of my half year’s service contracted for with the town of Manchester, which being now expired, they then observed, that I was both trustie and successefull. They were loathe to forego such a servant ; and therefore propounded new terms to me, offering me an annuity of L. 60 per annum, to be paid L.15 quarterly, during the lives both of myself and wife, which should survive the longest, if I would by my advice prosecute the finishing of their

^x Mr Palmer, in his *Siege of Manchester*, states, that the father of this Peter Heywood (who bore the same Christian name) was a justice of the peace ; and, according to a monumental inscription in St Ann’s, Aldersgate, he is stated to have been the person who apprehended Guy Faux, with his dark lanthorn, in the vaults under the Parliament House. November 5th, 1605. From the same authority we learn, that, for his zealous prosecution of the Papists, he was stabbed in Westminster Hall by one John James, a Dominican friar, in 1640. His grandson, Peter, was afterwards one of the councillors of Jamaica, and married Grace, daughter of Sir John Muddeford, Knight and Bart.

^y There are the most contradictory statements of the siege of Warrington, for which see Mr Baines’s *History and Directory, &c. of Lancaster*, Vol. II. p. 582. General Fairfax represents the Manchesterians to be victorious. Burgher, in his “*Providence Improved*,” admits that the Parliamentarians quitted Warrington without success ; but explains the circumstance, that it was only to save the town from the Earl of Derby’s threat being put in execution ; this nobleman having threatened to burn it sooner than it should fall into the hands of his enemies. The third account is the most probable, viz. that the Manchester soldiers were *bona fide* beaten. A manuscript account quoted from Mr Greswell’s collections, states their loss at three thousand men ; but this is probably an exaggeration.

fortifications, and the ordering of all military affairs conducing to the safetie of the town, and upon all occasions be ready to give directions accordingly. At the same time also they, with the deputy-lieutenants, desired me to accept of a foot company in the garrison of Manchester, engaging themselves to maintain it as long as it was a garrison, and to pay me forty shillings per week in part of my captain's pay, and the rest was to go upon the public faith. I was pressed to accept this so importunately on their part, and by one reason so strongly within myself, which was by embracing the first of these proposals, I should not leave a desolate widow without a poor subsistence, in case a warlike end should befall myself, that I layed down my lieutenant-colonel's commission, and closed with their contract."

Great expences in the garrison still continuing, it was found that the attempt of Parliament to raise a loan of money and plate for the purpose of indemnifying the inhabitants of Manchester was ineffective. It was therefore directed that the engineers, and several companies lying at Manchester, should have pay out of the estates of delinquents, against which the acts for sequestration had hitherto been tardily put in force "You are to seize," says one of the articles drawn up for the use of the sequestrators, "two parts of the estates, both real and personal, of all Papists (as they are called,) and the whole estates of all other sorts of delinquents mentioned in the said ordinance, whether they be Papists or others; and you are to understand by two parts of Papists' estates, two of their whole lands, and two of their goods into three to be divided."

The gentlemen in Manchester and the neighbourhood who compounded for their estates were the following:—they do not appear to have been Catholics.

John Byrom of Salford,	-	-	L.201	16	6
Edward Byrom of Salford,	-	-	2	6	8
Adam Bowker of Salford,	-	-	16	13	0
Peter Bowker of Manchester,	-	-	12	0	0
Sir Edward Mosley of Houghsend,	-	-	4874	0	0
Nicholas Mosley of Ancoats,	-	-	170	0	0
Francis Mosley, and Nicholas his son, of Collyhurst, ²			200	0	0

² The following (from Mr Palmer's work) is an order of the House of Commons against Francis Mosley and Nicholas, his son:—

"*Die Veneris*, 5^o May 1643.

"Whereas Francis Mosley of Manchester, in the county of Lancaster, gentleman, and Nicholas Mosley, his son, are now in actual rebellion against the King and Parliament, the Lords and

Henry Pendleton of Manchester,	-	-	L. 80.	0	0
Alexander Potter of Manchester,	-	-	4	5	0
Sir Thomas Prestwich, and Thomas his son, of Hulme,			330	0	0
Ferdinando Stanley of Broughton,	-	-	150	0	0
John Rogerton of Manchester,	-	-	4	8	4

The foregoing sequestrations amounted to the sum of L. 6045 9 6

After the disasters which the Manchester troops had experienced, Captain Peter Heywood's treachery in betraying the councils of the army in which he served to the royalists was discovered. "Being proved against him," says Colonel Roseworm, "he was secured by the committee, and yet without the consent of the rest of the committee, and contrary to an ordinance touching such cases, was released by Colonel Holland; two of his friends also being bound for his appearance, which never was questioned." Peter Heywood upon his enlargement went directly over to Prince Rupert.

In the beginning of May the forces of the Manchester district were ordered home, where they arrived on the 9th. On the 20th instant it was resolved that the militia should attempt to recover its lost credit by a second excursion against

Commons do hereby order and declare, that Mr Thomas Stones, Mr Thomas Browne, Mr William Barton, Mr Thomas Markland, and James Wainwright, or any three of them, (formerly appointed by warrant from the committee of safety of the kingdom, to receive such monies as by the warrant are assigned for the relief of the county of Lancaster,) shall have full power and authority, by searching and examining the books of such persons as are known to have dealt for them, the said Francis and Nicholas Mosley, or by any other good ways or means to find out, seize, and take into possession, all the monies, goods, debts, bills, bonds, or any other specialties for money, they can find in or about the city of London, belonging to them, the said Francis and Nicholas Mosley; and all their creditors, factors, or other persons who have in their hands any part of the estates of the said Francis and Nicholas Mosley, are hereby commanded and required to deliver them into the hands of them, the said Thomas Stones, Thomas Browne, William Barton, Thomas Markland, and James Wainwright, or any three of them, who are to receive them according to their full value, in part of satisfaction of the said warrant, and to dispose thereof for the service of the said county of Lancaster, according to the same warrant. And all persons are hereby fully discharged of all such monies, goods, bills, bonds, or other specialties, belonging to the said Francis and Nicholas Mosley, which they shall so deliver to the parties for the use above said, who are hereby required to make duplicates of rolls of all such goods, money, and other things which they shall take or receive, by virtue of this ordinance; that so, if there happen to be any overplus above what is due upon the same warrant, it may be disposed of as they shall appoint. And whatsoever any person shall do in pursuance of the ordinance, they shall be saved harmless, by the authority of both Houses of Parliament.

Warrington. The command of the expedition was given to Colonel Assheton, and preparatory to its setting out fasting and prayer were ordered, which took place on the 23d instant. The troops on their march encountered a party of royalists, who had fortified themselves at Winwick, whom they drove from the church, and also from the mansion of a popish family. Here they found a good stock of provisions. Some few of the cavaliers who had posted themselves in the steeple, where they obstinately required terms of submission, are said to have been "fetched down by a fowling piece."

At Warrington the Earl of Derby was defended with a force of sixteen hundred horse and foot. He was fiercely assaulted by Colonel Assheton, and was obliged to fortify himself in the church. Here he was so closely pressed by the besiegers, that he was glad to make his retreat, which he effected with the greatest part of his men, who were, however, obliged to leave behind them both arms and ammunition. On the 26th of May, the church yielded, and two days afterwards the town surrendered on terms of capitulation. Eighty of the royalists are said to have been slain and three hundred taken prisoners. Colonel Assheton confessed to the loss of seven men only. Other successes took place, particularly in an engagement which occurred at Whatley, and in the surrender of Whitchurch to the Parliament.

June 1st, prayers were ordered in Manchester.

During the expedition twenty-three brass pieces were obtained, some of which were said to have been impressed with the heraldic marks of the King of Sweden; they were divided between Blackburn, Bolton, and Manchester. Other arms which were triumphantly displayed had been pillaged by the Puritans from the old armouries which subsisted in the baronial mansions of the Catholic families; these were the maces of our Gothic ancestors, which are still to be found in the ancient chateaux of Germany, from which country they had probably been introduced into England. The Puritans raised an alarm, that these instruments of very early warfare had been sent over by the Jesuits, and they circulated through all parts of the kingdom drawings of the scaring weapon, under the title of the *Popish Roundhead*. It was described as a pole or staff twelve feet long, with a round knob at the end of it stored full of small sharp pikes, and a long pike at the opposite extremity; and was represented as causing present death wherever it hit.

The foregoing is the substance of the numerous parliamentary statements which have appeared relative to the civil commotions in which Manchester was engaged subsequent to its siege by Lord Strange, and leaving off in the summer

of 1643. It would have exceeded the bounds of prudence to give more than a selection from the statements, as many of them contain self-evident marks of being fabrications. From the opposite side, namely that of the Royalists, little or nothing has transpired, to clear up many uncertainties.

We now find the Earl of Derby less actively bestirring himself in Lancashire for the royal cause, and seeking elsewhere to serve his sovereign. The field had indeed been most unpromising. In a province where the names of KING and PARLIAMENT had been no farther revered than as convenient watchwords under which hosts of irreconcilable Puritans and Papists had met together in bloody conflict, it is impossible that the exertions of true loyalty could be effective. The individuals who were actuated by a genuine attachment to the established Protestant church of England were in Lancashire comparatively few; yet this minority comprehended gentlemen of rank and property, who naturally hesitated to sacrifice their fortunes and lives in a contest which was mingled with the broils of infuriated zealots;—where their prowess would be rendered futile and their motive aspersed. The Earl had therefore the mortification of experiencing, that, with his most active endeavours to raise the county for Charles, he could eventually find himself at the head of little more than an army of Papists.

In July 1643, the Earl of Newcastle, who had been very successful in the king's cause in the north of England, came to Bradford in Yorkshire. He seemed in hesitation whether to make Lancashire the scene of a campaign or not, having been aware of the real character of the hostilities which had been carried on in this county under the specious mask of KING and PARLIAMENT. However, he first addressed himself to Manchester, then considered the great hold of the Puritans, and, with a view of feeling the pulse of the town, requested that a deputation from it might repair to Rochdale, where they would be met by an officer empowered by his Lordship to treat with them. At this conference, the town of Manchester was presented with a summons to surrender, accompanied with an intimation that the Earl was fully apprized of the duplicity of the inhabitants in professing an attachment to both king and Parliament, and yet rising against the crown and its authority; while they excused their rebellion by branding with the title of Papists the army of their sovereign, notwithstanding the public declaration which the royalists had made, that they had ventured their lives and fortunes for the true Protestant religion.

The declaration and summons sent by the Earl of Newcastle was as follows:—

“ I presume you are not ignorant of the success it hath pleased Almighty God to give unto his Majesty's army under my command, and the great desire I have to

avoid the effusion of Christian blood, which moves me, before I proceed any further towards you, to make you an offer of his Majesty's grace and mercy, if you will submit yourselves, lay down your arms so unjustly taken up in contempt of the laws of this kingdom, and immediately return to your allegiance, his Majesty is graciously pleased to authorize me to receive you into his favour and protection, which I am as willing to do, as to enforce your obedience if you will refuse.

“ I cannot but wonder, while you fight against the King and his authority, you should so boldly offer to profess yourselves for King and Parliament, and most ignominiously scandalize this army with the title of Papists, when we venture our lives and fortunes for the true Protestant religion established in this country.

“ Be no longer deceived, for the blood which shall be shed in this quarter will assuredly fall on your own heads. I have no other ends in this, but to let you see your error, if you please : for my condition is such that I need not court you.—If not, let me receive your answer by this messenger, and you may expect little favour, if you force my nature, but such as is due to such contemnors of his Majesty's grace and favour now offered to you by

“ *Bradford, July 5th, 1643.*

W. NEWCASTLE.”

The answer given to this summons deserves remark, as it adds additional confirmation to the view which has been taken in this history, that the civil war of Lancashire had little or nothing to do with the real cause of dispute between the King and Parliament. The Manchester Puritans sent a spirited reply to the Earl, in which they directly charged the Papists with taking up arms against them under the colour of his Majesty's commission ; they also denied that they had put themselves out of his Majesty's protection, adding, however, that they could not devise how the true Protestant religion was to be defended, by so great a company of Papists as was permitted to enter the King's service. The reply was as follows :—

MANCHESTER'S ANSWER.

“ *Right Honourable,*

“ It hath been ever since the first fomenting of the unhappy differences in this kingdom, and so shall be our principal care and endeavour to preserve the true and natural Protestant religion by law established in this realm, and the honour of the King in all regal rights and prerogatives and privileges of Parliament, and true native liberties and privileges of the subject by law established :

“ And then it is not to be wondered at, that, having been oppressed by Papists and other malignants, we have by defensive arms laboured to repel such as by colour of his Majesty's commission have endeavoured to overthrow religion, his Majes-

ty's regal rights and honour with all the immunities of this kingdom, in the preservation whereof his majesty's progenitors have so long and honourably flourished :

“ By which we hope it is apparent to all indifferent persons, that we have not put ourselves out of his Majesty's protection.

“ Nor can it possibly enter into our understanding, that the true Protestant religion can be intended to be defended by so great a company of Papists as have been and are now in arms under such protection, nor the propriety of the subject by so many aliens and other malefactors as daily resort unto them. And we would wish so honourable a person as yourself might be separated and freed from protecting such delinquents.

SIR,

We are nothing dismayed at your force, but hope that God, who has been our protector hitherto, will so direct our just arming, that we shall be enabled to return the violence intended into their bosoms that shall essay the prosecution of it; which shall be the endeavour of

His Majesty's most humble and obedient subjects.

Rochdale, 7th July 1643.

The Earl of Newcastle, on reading the epistle, acted the part of a prudent general. He found that the royal cause could not be advanced a step in Manchester, owing to the perverted view which had been taken of it, and to which the Parliament was designedly lending its encouragement. To prosecute the war, therefore, in this district, would not be only sacrificing unnecessary bloodshed, but might still further endanger the cause of the king, which had been hitherto too much intermingled with sectarian contentions. Forbearance, therefore, was his Lordship's duty as well as policy.

The threatened siege of Manchester by the powerful and successful force of the Earl of Newcastle having been thus averted, the inhabitants naturally enough ascribed the effect to the determined answer which they sent, and his Lordship quietly left them to the full enjoyment of their harmless vanity.

It may be now remarked, that in all the means of defence adopted by the town, the most valuable aid seems to have been afforded by Colonel Roseworm; yet, owing to the mercenary character of his military avocations, the Puritans were beginning to look upon him with abhorrence. This aversion was heightened by his refusal to take the covenant, on the just plea, that, as a soldier of fortune, he had nothing earthly to do with the cause for which parties chose to fight, and that the proposed oath would for ever incapacitate him from serving again in an army which was

either popish, or which was otherwise hostile to the faith of the covenanters. But Colonel Holland strove to force upon him this test of his fitness for being employed in the labour of "God's people." The German naturally replied, that such had not been his agreement; upon which a cruel suspension took place of the soldier's pay.^a

In the autumn of 1643 the parliamentary militia of Lancashire were employed in the north of Lancashire as well as in Westmoreland and Cumberland. Their success was chiefly manifested at Thurland Castle, where they obtained over the royalists a complete victory. Four hundred prisoners were taken, and seven stand of colours.

On the 24th of February 1644, the siege of Latham Hall was resolved upon in a council of the Holy States at Manchester. The soldiers of this town had a share in the inglorious expedition, in whose defeat the brave Countess of Derby signally avenged the cause of her Lord.

The royalists of the kingdom were now suffering a great reverse. Fortune had hitherto divided itself between the opposite parties, until the precipitate conduct of Prince Rupert had urged on the crisis of the disastrous battle of Marston Moor, in which Cromwell eminently distinguished himself, and proved successful. The Earl of Newcastle left the royal cause in disgust, and sought the repose of a private life on the continent. Prince Rupert retired to Lancashire, whither Fairfax sent a body of a thousand horse to watch his movements. An attack on Liverpool was apprehended, and Colonel Roseworm was requested to superintend its fortifications, in which employ he remained five days without receiving any reward. The ingratitude shown him by the Parliamentarians was soon made public; and Prince Rupert sought to win him over to the royal cause, making use of Peter Heywood for this purpose, as a fit agent to work the German to this treachery. But the soldier of fortune was not to be wrought upon; he discovered a plot against Manchester which the enemy had in view, and remained firm to his trust.^b

^a "As a noble gratuity," says Roseworm, "the forty shillings per week, as part of my captain's pay, (onely main pillar of my family expences,) was by Collonel Holland's command, subscribing two hands more for the countenancing of his unworthinesse, taken away from me, upon this pretence, that I had not taken the covenant, and was suspended for above a year; during all which time, notwithstanding, I was kept still in my employment."

^b Captain Roseworm's relation is as follows:—

"And now I come to my last actions, not a little conducing to the great shame and dishonour of Manchester, and the farther evidences of my own honesty.

"After the siege of Liverpool, the Parliament with a great force layed siege to York. To raise

“ And here,” adds Roseworm, “ I must not forget a new piece of wrong Manchester and the whole kingdom received from Colonel Holland at this time. That very morning in which I had discovered the plot, Colonel Holland had summoned the souldiers of Salford Hundred, consisting of almost 4000 muskettiers, to my best remembrance. He was desired by us at Manchester, that these souldiers might quarter in or near the town, that they might assist us in time of danger ; but how were we answered ? He disbanded these men, went away, left us to ourselves, there being no established souldiers in the town at that time, but that one single company under my command, and some few of Major Radcliffe’s company, which, with all that could be perswaded to look to the security of their lives and livelihoods, made not up so many muskettiers as to double our guards, much lesse reasonably to enable us against a resolute enemie’s attempt. Nor was our distresse without many aggravating circumstances ; for besides the decay of our mud-walls, and the dismounting of our cannons, we knew not whom to trust.”

Prince Rupert, upon learning the unprotected state of Manchester, was tempted to take possession of it. But Roseworm exerted himself to the utmost in placing the town in a position of defence, and laboured night and day to bring the cannons

this siege, Prince Rupert made an hastie and a furious march, with a very great army, so that from the beginning of these wars, there were not two such numerous armies, nor so fiercely resolved each against other, as met at length upon the occasion of that siege. Prince Rupert well noting that there were two ways to raise this siege, which was the whole of his work and designe ; the one by policy, the other by force, left neither unattempted. His political method lay no where so strongly for his end as to corrupt me for the betraying of Manchester, wherein, had he sped, York siege would have raised of itself.

“ To effect this, Prince Rupert joyned my Lord Byrom to himself in the transactions, and having the advantage of one Mr Peter Heywood, by his means laboured with me for betraying of the town. His method was, first to take advantage of the injurious and most unthankfull unworthinesse, which the town had used towards me, stirring those passions in me, which he knew were deeply provoked. This done, he offered, in the behalf of Prince Rupert, that I should have great preferments under Prince Rupert, besides the perpetual obligations of affection and honour from many most noble friends, which I should look upon as purchased by the desert of such seasonable and useful service.

“ I was not so little a fool, though I never meant to be a knave, but I gave the propounder audience ; gave some encouragement to the businesse, so much as to fish out which way the enemy would lay the stratagem, and, to secure myself from suspicion on their part, appointed them a time of achieving their hopes.

“ When I had found out the bottom of the plot, and searched out the method of their intention, I immediately sent for six of the chief men of the town, and layed open the whole design.

to the works, and to repair the mud-wall.^c The consequence was, that when the Prince marched within a mile or two of the ramparts, and learned that the inhabitants were prepared to receive him, he halted and bent his course another way. He had probably thought, with the Earl of Newcastle, that the price he should pay for the town would not compensate him for the cost of involving the king's cause in its religious feuds.

For this service, many gentlemen, who were at length fully convinced of Roseworm's merit, drew up a petition to Parliament, that the arrears of his stipend, which Colonel Holland had suspended, should be restored to him; and they also recommended some further noble gratuity as due to his deserts and quality. This petition eventually produced an order for the German's discontinued pay.^d

For some time few public events are recorded to have taken place in Manchester. The theatre of war was in other counties of England. Fortune was appearing to again smile upon the King in the victory of Copredy Bridge, the dissipation of Essex's army, and the triumphs of Montrose in Scotland. In 1645 the King set out to succour the city of Chester, and on his approach the Parliamentary siege was raised. But shortly afterwards the battle of Naseby, fatal to the hopes of Charles, was fought. Fairfax, with Cromwell under him, gained a complete victory over the impetuous Rupert.

In 1645 a pestilence again visited Manchester; and by an ordinance of Parlia-

^c "The infinite toyl, pains, and indefatigable industry, night and day, which I used at this time, all that had eyes in that town saw, and all that have tongues can witnesse, insomuch that the ablest and richest of those who had engaged themselves for my annuity, being overcome with the consideration of my pains, and the shining evidences of my fidelity, gave me deep protestations and promises, that, if ever the hand of Providence should lead them to peace again, and that trading might once again flourish, they would, out of their own private purses, enlarge my reward; particularly four of the six, to whom I first discovered the enemy's stratagem, specified their summes. Mr Johnson promised L. 10, Mr Gaskell L. 20, Mr Hunt L. 30, Mr Hartley L. 40, yearly as long as I lived."

^d *Die Mercurii, Septembris 4^o, 1644.*

Ordered, That Lieutenant-Colonel Roseworm shall have his pay as Lieutenant-Colonel so long as he did the duty of that place in the regiment of Colonel Ashton; and the forty shillings per week formerly paid to him as Captain, and all the arrears of it, be forthwith paid out of the public monies to be raised in the county of Lancaster, and so to continue during such time as he shall be in the public service in that county; and, for the rest of his pay as Captain, the said Lieutenant-Colonel Roseworm shall have the public faith: And it is further recommended unto the town of Manchester, not to fail in the paying of him the sixty pounds per annum, according to their former covenants with him. Granted after great expences.

ment, dated December 9, 1645, it appears that it had raged with such violence, that for many months none had been permitted to come in or go out of the town. Its effects had been so dreadful, that the ordinance says, "Most of the inhabitants living upon trade, are not only ruined in their estates, but many families are like to perish for want, who cannot be sufficiently relieved by that miserably wasted country." In relief of their distressed situation, a collection, by order of Parliament, was made for the poor of Manchester in all the churches and chapels in London and Westminster; the receipts of which were directed to be transmitted to Mr John Hartley of Manchester.

During the time that the town was in this confusion, it seems that an attempt was made by some ill-designed persons to take advantage of the general distress, and to begin the work of plunder. This design was frustrated by the activity of Roseworm. His narrative is as follows:—

"The summer after Prince Rupert's diversion, it pleased God to lay his heavy hand of plague upon us, which, ranging according to his directions, left no part unvisited; becoming indeed such a sad object, that our very miseries were as great a guard to us against our enemies as the cries of them were strong for a public commiseration from our friends. The pestilence in a little time grew so hot, that it not onely occasioned most of the richest to depart with their whole families, but moved also the warden and the other ministers to desire me with my family to withdraw not far from the town, that, if occasion were, I might from thence readily serve the danger and extremitie which might befall it from the enemy. I think few men would have blamed me, if, having stayed thus long, I had left the town upon such importunitie. But conceiving myself as strongly tyed to look to the goods and estates of those that were gone, as one of the ministers thought charged to look to the souls of those there remaining, I waived all fear, and resolved personally to serve my trust, leaving my death to Him that once gave, and often before had spared my life. And truly my resolution herein, I must be bold to say, was not a little courtesie to this town, as both I foresaw how things would, and afterwards did come to pass; for Major Ratcliff and his company having withdrawn and quartered themselves without the works for fear of the plague, myself having onely twelve muskettiers, whose hearts stood fixed to run my hazard, the poore, many of whom were at the pest-house without, and the rest within, entered into a dangerous combination with about a dozen of the middle sort of men that were within, to take advantage of our weaknesse and nakednesse, and to seize upon the whole riches of the town, which at that time was very great.

"In the prosecution of this villany they wanted neither secresie, unanimity,

nor craft ; for till their design was ripe, I had no knowledge of it, which argues also their unanimity ; as for their craft, a man would have thought some minor jesuite had been of their counsell. They had prepared, forsooth, a kind of declaration ; zeal for the safety of the town, solicitousnesse to see it so naked and unfit to oppose an enemy, were the embroidered coat of this pretty brat : and to make up all, they added a resolution to stick to King and Parliament, and to use the whole fruits of their attempts to serve the publick ; and I, forsooth, had the honour to be nominated their chief commander. I had at this time taken physick ; but my serjeant, Mr Byrom the elder, having discovered the plot to some in the town, who quickly came to advise with me, we, with some few others which we sent for, agreed upon this as the suddenest remedy, that the twelve chief conspirators should be severally sent for into one room at one time, and afterwards severally examined, which accordingly was done ; their examinations remaining still upon fyle in Manchester. Whilst these things were doing, I gave orders for my twelve muskettiers privately to attend me, with whose assistance having secured these heads, the conspiracie vanished into smoke, which otherwise would have set all on fire."

The important services which Colonel Roseworm rendered to the Parliamentary cause was repaid with an ingratitude which will ever reflect the greatest stigma on the annals of Manchester. The pay promised him, and the justice of which was confirmed by a vote of Parliament, was, after all danger had ceased, withheld from him ; the consequence of which was, that he left the town in disgust, and repaired to London, where he waited three quarters of a year for redress.^c His debts during that time accumulating, it is not surprising that he should publish a very angry pamphlet. Speaking of the numerous offers with which he had been tempted, during his engagement with the inhabitants of Manchester, to betray his trust, he adds, " And I must needs say, I could with more ease have sold them, men, women, and children, with all they had into their enemies' hands, than at any time I could have preserved them ; but, alas, I should then have been a Manchester man ; for never let an unthankful man and a promise-breaker have another name." It is impossible, considering the usage which the unfortunate man received, not to make a generous allowance for this vituperation.

Our narrative of the active part which Manchester took during the great rebellion, in a cause of its own which was purely religious, is brought to a close ;—

^c The forty shillings a-week was not paid him until October 9th, 1647.

in a succeeding chapter will be described the very important change which followed in the government of its church.

Of general events it may be added, that, at the close of the year 1645, Charles, after a series of defeats, retired for the winter into his favourite city of Oxford. There he heard of the defeat of Montrose and abandoned his cause to despair.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE EVENTS CONNECTED WITH THE INTRODUCTION OF THE PRESBYTERIAN DISCIPLINE IN MANCHESTER AND OTHER PARTS OF LANCASHIRE, CHIEFLY THROUGH THE EXERTIONS OF MR HEYRICK. A. D. 1645 AND 1646.

By Dr HIBBERT. f

To any writer who may be averse to entering into the lists of theological contention, the task of conducting this part of our history is one of extreme delicacy. For this reason it is proper to add, that, as no pretensions are advanced to a familiarity with many of the institutes upon which the religious controversies of the seventeenth century were founded, it would be an act of presumption to sit in judgment upon them ; and the more so, because they continue to engage the attention of the most learned divines. All comments will therefore be excluded, except such as meet with a ready suggestion from actual events, and which in this sense are strictly historical.

^f Hitherto many chasms have occurred in the History of the Collegiate Church of Manchester, the most important of our information having been derived from the scanty notes which were collected by Mr Hollingworth from archives subsequently conveyed away and lost. It is singular, however, that during the establishment of a Presbyterian form of church government, there appears to be little deficiency of information ; the materials for illustrating it still existing under the form of controversial pamphlets or minutes of presbyteries. These documents, many of which are of exceeding rarity, have been preserved in the valuable library of Thomas Heywood, Esq. of Swinton, and to the liberal access which he has granted for the purpose of consultation, the narrative comprized in this and the two following chapters is indebted. A list of these documents will appear in the Appendix.

The history of the Presbyterian discipline, as it was established in Manchester and other parts of Lancashire, is little known, although it forms an interesting episode in the general ecclesiastical annals of England during the interregnum. The warden of Manchester College had the greatest share in setting it up, and hence it is desirable that we should arrive at an accurate knowledge of the principles and motives by which his conduct was actuated. These are illustrated by the important events in which we have observed him to be engaged by his writings, and by some few memorials which his friends have published of his private life and manners.

In the character of Mr Heyrick many estimable qualities and equally great failings were blended. The few writings which he has left show that he was conversant with the best classical authors, and with the prevailing systems of logic and divinity which were taught in the schools. His relatives have borne testimony to his domestic virtues, and to the amiable and benevolent feelings of which he was susceptible. His friendships were sincere and permanent, and, as they were contracted with men of exemplary worth, the best of proofs is afforded of the reputation which he maintained for uprightness of conduct. His munificence was manifested by the sums which in the commencement of his wardenship he devoted towards the repairs of the church, and his private charities were many and unostentatious. Love of wealth and ecclesiastical dignities influenced no part of his conduct. It is recorded of him, that in the early part of his life he showed a general indifference to church preferment, when the means of advancing himself through the interest of many powerful friends had been left in his choice. He was in fact any thing but a courtier and a time-server; and as his wardenship had been given him in lieu of a debt owing to his family by the Crown, he regarded it as a sort of patrimony with which he remained content. For the esteem of those whom his moral and religious sentiments had ranked among the exemplary members of the community he was most anxious, and, as he paid the greatest deference to their judgment, his general unassuming manner and unfeigned humility, which considerations of high birth and rank could not affect, gained for him an affectionate regard and admiration.

But to reverse the picture.—If Mr Heyrick was prone to the most kind and generous acts, he could give way to ebullitions of fierce resentment, by which he was too often hurried along into a career of violence, the prejudicial effects of which his sanguine temper did not always permit him to foresee. Possessing, however, strong conscientious feelings, these excesses of passion were not unfrequently corrected by an awakened appeal to the candour and prudence which he

showed in ordinary cases ; and when charitable feelings had resumed their sway, he either displayed in an extraordinary degree the divine talent of forgiveness, or, as opposite circumstances demanded, was himself the first to offer atonement for the injuries which he might have committed. There were occasions, nevertheless, when the internal remonstrances of mercy or humanity were made in vain, or were checked as irreligious intrusions. The ungovernable impetuosity to which he was prone had been kept alive by the polemical writings of the early Protestant leaders, who were the great solace of his theological studies ; and in endeavouring to model his own ministerial conduct after these prototypes, he conceived that the sole duty of a Christian pastor was to incite his hearers to every act of coercion and violence which could suppress the spread and growth of popery. Nor was he more charitably disposed towards the alleged heresies of other sects.—In short, his whole soul appeared bent upon executing that part of the National Covenant, by which he had become bound without respect of persons to endeavour the extirpation of popery, prelacy, superstition, heresy, schism, profaneness, and whatsoever should be found contrary to sound doctrine and the power of godliness.

These were the passions and the motives by which Mr Heyrick was actuated ; and when in conjunction with them we find a soul fearless of all peril, nothing appears wanting towards the completion of that dangerous union of opposite mental qualities, which is always called into activity during times of dread commotion and dismay.

This sketch of Mr Heyrick's general character will afford assistance in explaining much of his conduct during the civil wars. Incited by the view which he had taken of his ministerial duty, and constantly measuring his deportment by this fallacious test, he conceived, that, as Lancashire abounded with Papists more than any other part of England, the voice of Heaven itself had specially called him to this county as the peculiar sphere in which his gifted powers of ministry were to be exerted. No superior offers of preferment could therefore tempt him to quit his church of Manchester, which under his auspices had become the grand rallying point of the Puritans, and which was consequently endeared to him by ties that now appeared to him in the most solemn light. And in the wild crusade which he fomented against the powers of Antichrist, he was prepared to make the most extensive sacrifices of wealth. Amidst the pecuniary embarrassments of a needy Parliament, he not unfrequently applied the greatest share of his clerical emoluments to support the ill-paid troops who were hired to defend the crumbling walls of Manchester.

After this attempt to analyze a character of very difficult solution, we may now advert to the important change of the national religion which was about to take place.

When the people of England had begun to take an interest in the disputes of the Scottish Covenanters, the origin of episcopacy began to be debated. Those who advocated its divine right sought for proofs of its antiquity from the testimony of the ancient fathers. Others thought, that, when the distinction between a bishop and a presbyter was first started in the church of Christ, it was not grounded on a *jus divinum*, but on prudential reasons and argument. But Mr Heyrick never appears to have deeply entered into any of these controversial questions. His enmity was not so much against episcopacy in the abstract, as against mitred individuals, who, under this form of episcopal government, were too lenient in using the scourge which they might hold in their hands. He blamed them for not urging the king to put in full force the penal laws against popery, antimoniasm, socinianism, and other alleged heresies ; and his indignation was roused to the utmost pitch at finding Bishop Juxon, with much simplicity, prefer the occasional solace afforded him by his hounds or his falcon to the bloody broils of an anti-papal conflict. Hence, from a dislike of churchmen mildly exercising their sway to a condemnation of the system of discipline under which they acted, the transition is easily made.

The popularity of Presbyterianism in England takes its date from the time when the Scottish Commissioners had been detained in London in negotiations with the Parliament. A chapel had been granted them for the exercise of their religion, which attracted to it great crowds of the puritanic English, who were gratified with the simplicity and even meanness of the worship. The Parliament partaking of the general interest, and influenced by the solemn league and covenant to which they were pledged, and whereby they had abjured episcopacy, made provisions for an immediate change of the national religion. For this purpose they convened at Westminster an assembly of 101 divines to consult regarding the mode in which the Presbyterian form of church-government could best be established.

When the assembly of divines, among whom Mr Heyrick had a seat, had entered on their office, they conceived that the institution of presbyteries would command more implicit obedience from the people, if they could show that it was according to a divine command. They disclaimed any evidence which was to be derived from the testimonies of the ancient fathers, but appealed to the Scriptures alone for proofs of their *jus divinum*. Many texts from holy writ seem to have had very forced interpretations given to them ; but the passage of the greatest au-

thority with them was as follows :—" Having then gifts differing according to the grace given, whether prophecy, let us prophecy according to the proportion of faith, or ministry, let us wait on our ministry ; or he that teacheth, on teaching ; or he that exhorteth, on exhorting. He that giveth let him do it with simplicity ; he that ruleth, with diligence ; he that showeth mercy, with cheerfulness."—" In these words," said the Westminster divines, " we have a perfect enumeration of all the ordinary affairs of the church, which are reduced to two general heads, Prophecy and Ministry. By prophecy is meant the faculty of right understanding and expounding the Scriptures, and under ministry are comprehended all other employments of the church.—Again, these two general offices are each subdivided into special offices. Under prophecy is contained, first, he that teacheth, that is, the doctor or teacher ; and, secondly, he that exhorteth, that is, the pastor. Under ministry is comprised, first, he that giveth, that is, the deacon ; secondly, he that ruleth, that is, the ruling elder ; and, thirdly, he that showeth mercy :—which last office pertained unto them who in those days had care of the sick. So that in these words of the text we have the ruling elder plainly set down and contradistinguished from the teaching and exhorting elder."

After the divines had published their authority for the presbyteries exercising a divine right, they explained its nature and extent, which was as follows :—" The government of the church most agreeable to the word of God is by presbyters or elders, for they have the keys. They have a stewardly and ministerial power. There are two sorts of elders, extraordinary, as apostles, and ordinary, as pastors and teachers. The elders hold their office and authority immediately from Jesus Christ, who is the sole head of all ecclesiastical power and spiritual jurisdiction, and in whose name and authority they, by way of immediate subordination, exercise their function."

But these tenets, which the divines of Westminster were never inclined to abandon, met with little countenance from the legislature. By the lower House they were rejected on the plea, that, if the divine right was thus conceded, presbyterianism would soon be as dangerous as episcopacy. It was therefore replied, that the elders did not receive their governing power and authority from Jesus Christ, but solely from the church or body of the people.

Another subject on which the House of Commons and the assembly of divines came into collision, was regarding the power of excommunicating. The Presbyterians had dwelt more than any other Christian sect upon the doctrine taught by the old reformers, that the act most essential to the soul's salvation was the partaking worthily of the Lord's Supper ; and that the neglect or omission of this divine

ordinance, or the receiving it unworthily, was to the imminent danger of the soul. The divines therefore urged, that it was the duty of the ministers and ruling elders, who in the name and authority of Christ exercised their functions, to protect the Lord's Supper from being profaned by the admission of ignorant and scandalous persons, and, that for this special purpose, they were possessed of the exclusive privilege of awarding the censures of the church. These censures they reduced to three in number; admonition, suspension from the Lord's table, and excommunication.

As this uncontrolled power of awarding the censures of the church was the great attribute of the rejected *jus divinum*, it likewise fell to the ground. The Parliament was on its guard against the religious influence which it was calculated to inspire, and the passive obedience which it imposed, and not only determined by an ordinance the cases where censures applied, but even granted a right of appeal to the two Houses from all ecclesiastical courts whatever. The functions even of the assembly of divines were circumscribed. Their resolutions were merely acknowledged as the humble advice given to the Legislature. Their privilege was taken away of electing their proper president or his substitute, or of supplying the vacant places of their proper members.

At these decisions, whereby the power of excommunicating for heretical and scandalous offences was liable to the wholesome check of the civil legislature, Mr Heyrick expressed much regret; and this was the first disappointment which he received in the sanguine expectation that he had formed from the introduction of the Presbyterian discipline.

By the same assembly of divines divers changes were made in the thirty-nine articles, and for a few trivial objections, such as wearing a white surplice, imprinting the sign of the cross at baptism, or bowing at the altar or at the name of Jesus, the whole of the book of common prayer was condemned as Popish and Antichristian, and a new directory of worship, in which the greatest latitude was given to extemporaneous devotion, was substituted in its place. In this state of feeling, it would have been futile in Mr Heyrick to insist upon the retention of the liturgy and other parts of the ritual by his own peculiar interpretation of the Apocalypse, that whatever Rome possessed in common with the English church was pure metal, and that the liturgy was the very golden cup of sterling value which the great harlot had the presumption to still hold in her hand. He must have plainly seen that his enrolment among the Presbyterians, whose powerful co-operation he considered of vital importance, would demand in return some sacrifices on his part, particularly upon the score of his early prepossession to the book of common

prayer. In short, the ascendancy in his mind of the great Presbyterian principle of intolerance towards all heresies must be constantly kept in view, otherwise an unnecessary degree of ambiguity will be thrown over such actions of his life, as when strictly examined do nothing more than show, that objects of attachment possessing a subordinate share of influence on his mind were obliged to bend before a far more powerful motive, by which the whole tenor of his ministerial conduct was governed. Mr Heyrick had no doubt laboured to convince himself that he had overcome his scruples to the innovations contained in the new directory of worship, but as his conformity had been effected by a sort of violence done to all his former predilections, it was not likely to be permanent.

Owing to the numerous debates and contentions in which the Westminster divines were engaged, it was not before the 25th day of February 1645 that an ordinance of the two Houses appeared, which directed that the Presbyterian form of church government should be instantly established throughout the realm by the election of elders in every county; and by a subsequent bill, bearing date the 19th of August of the same year, this ordinance was confirmed. It was then commanded that certain persons, with the aid of ministers of the Gospel, should be appointed in each county, to consider how it might be most conveniently divided into distinct classical Presbyteries, and what ministers and others were fit to belong to each classis. But in consequence of the great changes which were demanded for the constitution of the new national church, their proceedings were necessarily slow and obstructed.

From contemplating these general preparations which were going on for a change of religious government, we may now confine our attention to the ecclesiastical affairs of Manchester.

The Parliament being tired of carrying on a system of unmitigated hostility against the Catholics solely on religious grounds, was more inclined to supply the deficiency of its drained treasury, by raising contributions from them in return for the indulgence which was granted to their worship. The troops which garrisoned the town of Manchester were therefore, with the exception of about half a dozen soldiers, called away as being of no farther service. But this liberty of the Papists to compound, together with the disbanding of the militia, was to Mr Heyrick a disappointment of no common kind. It had been his repeated caution that no safety to the Protestant religion of Lancashire could exist as long as a single Papist was allowed to exist in the county; but he now found that his exhortation to the rulers of the land to spare not, but to execute summary justice on the

great enemies of the state, was disregarded as a visionary warning. He therefore set on foot a petition from his townsmen, that the Parliament would direct that the garrison of Manchester should again present a formidable aspect to its anti-christian foes.

A second event which agitated the town was the rapaciousness which was exercised in seizing for the use of the treasury the revenues of the churches. Even the College of Manchester was visited by sequestrators. This was an act of base ingratitude, as Mr Heyrick ought to have been ranked among the most strenuous supporters of the Presbyterian Parliament. The warden now began to experience in all its bitterness the consequences of the revolutionary commotions which no one had more industriously fomented than himself, having never anticipated, that, with the establishment of Presbyterianism, there would have arisen any impediment to his continuance of the wardenship of Manchester with all its emoluments. The fellows and chaplains of the college in their indignation renounced their sacred functions, and their example was followed by all the other ministers of the parish of Manchester, the warden alone excepted, whose enthusiastic attachment to his congregation no adversity could affect. He remained firm at his post, and singly performed the divine services of his church.

Acts of bad faith and avarice, of which many more instances could be produced, caused the Parliament to become very unpopular. The taxes were likewise great, and the despotism exercised by the committees and provincial courts was excessive; nearly one-half of the property of the royalists having been sequestrated as the penalty for refusing to take the National Covenant. Mr Heyrick having been invited, as one of the Westminster divines, to preach before the Commons, unflinchingly declared against their vicious conduct. Under the bold yet scarcely justifiable similitude of the Deity presiding in a Parliament of Heaven, he censured the house after the following manner :—

“ Be pleased to conceive a Parliament at this time convened in Heaven, and, God on his throne, asking this question, ‘ Shall I destroy England ? ’ And so some answer after this manner, and some after that :— ‘ Great cry of injustice, of oppression, of wrong, of injury ! ’— ‘ Blood toucheth blood : courts of justice and committees are courts of robbery and spoil : the poor sheep flies to the bush for shelter and loseth his fleece ! ’— ‘ Papists and malignants compound, and they oppress their poor tenants that have engaged themselves in the public cause for the Lord against their lords ! ’—A fourth confirms, and concludes with the other three,— ‘ England must be destroyed ! They have falsified the oath of God : oaths and covenants are like Sampson’s cords,—every one makes use of them to his own interests ! ’—To

these agreed many more, so that there was a great cry heard in the house,—‘Down with it! Down with it, even to the ground!’

“God looked from his throne, and wondered there was not one found, not one to stand in the gap to make an atonement to speak in the behalf of England. After a short silence, one arose from his seat and said, ‘Lord, wilt thou destroy England,—England for whom thou hast done so great things? Wilt thou destroy what thine hand hath done? What will the Atheists, the Papists, the malignants say,—surely God was not able to save them: Save them then for thy great name’s sake!’—A second ariseth and saith,—‘England must not be destroyed! Lord, wilt thou destroy a righteous nation if there be fifty, forty, thirty, twenty, ten righteous there? Shall not the Judge of all the earth do that which is right?’ There are seven thousand at least that have not bowed their knees to Baal!⁵ There are sixty thousand and more, yea, than sixty hundred thousand, that cannot discern betwixt the right hand and the left! Thou never didst destroy a praying, a reforming people! Wilt thou now do what was never in thy thoughts before?’—A third ariseth after the second and pleads the same cause:—‘England must not be destroyed! There is a Parliament in the midst of them,—physicians of great value! God hath been amongst them and in the midst of them; and they are still acting for God and the kingdom’s safety! Did ever Parliament perish before?’—After all these the fourth ariseth, that there might not appear fewer to speak for than there was to speak against England:—‘England must not be destroyed! They cannot die alone; the three kingdoms must die with them, yea, the Protestant churches throughout the world! Hast thou not said that hell-gates shall not prevail against thy people?’—To these many more joined in heart and vote, so that there was a considerable party of both sides; nor could it be determined whether had more voices, those that spake for the destruction, or they that spake for the salvation of England. And having said they were silent.

“And, behold, as we read in the Revelation, there was in Heaven great silence for half an hour, both sides waiting for God’s determination.

“At last, God in his glorious majesty raised himself from his throne, and effectually cried out, ‘How shall I give thee up, England,—how shall I give thee up?’ And so, without conclusion and final determination, he dissolved the session, to the admiration and astonishment of both parties.”

Mr Heyrick then argued, that, as they were all in a dreadful state of suspense and incertitude, what was to be the fate of England, God not having made up his

⁵ Mr Heyrick here alludes to his own staunch Puritans of Manchester.

mind on the subject, something was expected from them, if they would avert a sentence of condemnation. He proposed, therefore, that the Deity should be supplicated with prayer so earnest and irresistible as to command a fiat of mercy and forgiveness ; that the injuries of the bleeding nation should be redressed ; and that hostilities should be resumed against the Papists and other malignants, even to their utter downfall and discomfiture. “ Did Publius Scipio,” he asks, “ a private man, kill Tiberius Gracchus, that did but lightly weaken the commonwealth ? ‘ And shall we that are consuls,’ saith the consul of Rome, ‘ let Cataline alone to work a common destruction ?’ Let not malignants rest quiet among you : there can be no safety to our country and to our religion while such miscreants lurk in our dwelling ! Little know we what gunpowder plots are now hatching, and how near they are to their birth ! While the Pope remains at Rome, and the devil in hell, and their agents in England, the sons of darkness will be still working in the vault of darkness to ruin the children of light !—Show not the least countenance to the detestable neutrality that is practised by many ! God writes in his books, write you in yours,—All neuters are enemies ; all that are not for you are against you ! The hedgehog, the hieroglyphic of the neuter, hath two holes, the one toward the south, the other toward the north ; when the south wind blows she stops up that hole that is toward the north, and when the north wind blows she stops that towards the south :—such urchins are all temporizers that halt betwixt two opinions !—And as for apostates, that are false to their covenant and to your state, let not your eye pity them,—let not your hand spare them ! Execute justice to the enemies of the commonwealth,—show mercy with favour to your friends. !”

In the course of this harangue, Mr Heyrick did not fail to plead the cause of the seven thousand in Manchester who would not bow their knees to Baal, and whose godly inflexibility had allayed the anger expressed against England in the great Parliament of Heaven. In their behalf he made the following eloquent appeal :—

“ It was a commendable custom in the courts of Persia to have the good acts of their subjects chronicled. Mordecai was found in the history, and the king highly advanced him for it. Would you then be pleased to peruse your own records, you might find some places that now, like Mordecai, lie sad and desolate in the gate, yet did you admirable service, whereof you did rejoice and glory :—pardon my zeal if I name the town of Manchester unto you,—a town famous for religion ever since the reformation. Believe me, it hath been a Goshen, a place of light, when most places of the land have been places of darkness. It hath been an hiding-place, a place of refuge and sanctuary against the tyranny of prelacy,

and the storms and tempest of persecution. They were with the first that jeopardised themselves in the high places of the earth, that ventured the perishing in the cause of God and the kingdom. They offered themselves willingly among the people, and they laid out themselves in what they had for the public service. Yea, I know there were that, like the widow, threw in all their treasure into the public treasury. God did great things by them and for them. I fear not to say they preserved the North!

“Manchester was the public magazine, the sanctuary to poor exiles, the prison to proud enemies, the bulwark to the county!—But now she sits like a widow desolate. The hand of God hath lately gone out against her.—The only town untouched by the enemy, and the only town in all the county stricken of God! The priests, the ministers of the Lord that did bear the ark of God upon their shoulders, there were sixteen of them in that parish, and now I know but one,—one alone as Eliah,—left to do the service of the Lord, and he,—through the wickedness of the times, the great revenues of the church being unjustly withheld from him,—is now upon tiptoe ready to take flight, scarce having bread to put into his children’s mouth. The walls of the garrison they moulder away,—time hath made wide breaches in their works,—which the enemy could never do,—and there is not at this time, that I know of, five soldiers to keep the garrison! These things in a petition they have lately laid at your feet.

“Give me leave, then, in their and others’ behalf to say,—let not so great a labour of love be forgotten! Let the blessing of them that are ready to perish be upon you! Comfort them, yea comfort them according to the time wherein they have been afflicted, yea give them double for what they have done!”

The whole of this truly pathetic address excited great interest, but was in part only effective. The Parliament still refused to repair the walls of Manchester, and to recal the troops with the view that they might take the field against the Lancashire Papists; but they willingly corrected the act of deep ingratitude and bad faith which had been evinced towards Mr Heyrick, by reinstating the College in the possession of its revenues, though upon the condition that such of its members as hesitated to take the National Covenant should be ejected. Mr Heyrick, the aged Mr Bourne, together with the two chaplains, Mr Hollingworth and Mr Walker, had long been professed Presbyterians. Two of the fellows, Mr Shaw and Mr Boardman, are affirmed to have complied with the demands of the Parliament, though their names do not at any time appear to have been enrolled among those of the efficient ministers of the new faith. Mr Johnson, the remaining fellow, described as a pious and learned man, who hitherto appears to have co-operated

with Mr Heyrick in the offices of the puritanic church of Manchester, now refused to abjure episcopacy. He had probably, among other reasons, been confirmed in this decision by the intolerant and persecuting spirit of his fellow members of the College. Having been also suspected of cavalierism, orders were secretly issued for a sudden apprehension and removal of his person to some distant gaol, in order that his epistolary correspondence might be the better detected. But, aware of what his enemies might have possibly planned against him, he had made provision to meet this danger. When the arrest was put into effect, it was so abrupt and instantaneous, that he was not even permitted to put on his boots, but was obliged to wrap round his legs wisps of straw or hay, in order to defend them from the mud. In this condition he was mounted on a sorry ragged colt, and on being led through the streets of the town in a sort of triumph, was severely wounded with the stones which were levelled at him by a mob of furious zealots. His wife and brother-in-law, Mr John Chorleton, were also imprisoned, because they refused to discover where he had conveyed his books and papers.^a

From these events we may now turn to contemplate new religious changes which were going on, to add to the troubles and distractions of England.

Acts of persecution such as Manchester exemplified were not confined to a solitary province. In every county numerous Heyricks might be found, whose common watchword was SPARE NOT!—who scarcely yielded to the church of Rome itself, to which they idly professed to be the most opposed, in the intolerant and persecuting spirit which they breathed. But they had attained the height of their political greatness. A new rival power had sprung up, the forerunner of new civil wars and fresh bloodshed, the growth of which we must endeavour to trace, if we would understand many distracting events which subsequently occurred in the annals of the Church of Manchester.

We have seen that the Puritans had generally professed themselves to be attached to Presbyterianism, and that as soon as this form of church discipline had been projected, great divisions had ensued;—that theologians had contended for the divine right of the presbyteries, and for the unlimited power of excommunicating, but that the Parliament had resisted the acknowledgment of this danger,

^a As a caution, it may be remarked, that Mr Walker, in his *Sufferings of the Episcopal Clergy*, has incautiously jumbled up under the form of a single incident three or four distinct events which befel the Church of Manchester between the years 1646 and 1650. But to give his narrative an air of consistency, a mean date is awarded to the whole of 1648.

ous spiritual prerogative. During this struggle for power, more moderate men had long waited in vain for a settled form of church government, in lieu of the one which had been formally abolished; but owing to these protracted disputes, nothing whatever had been done to satisfy the impatience of the nation. An interval of suspense such as this could not be unattended with danger. Congregations whose pastors had been ejected for their adherence to prelacy being now left to their own wild resources, adopted any recommended system of belief which was zealously introduced among them, or which was even suggested by the heated imagination of their own visionary leaders. An infinity of distinct sects thus sprung up, such as Brownists, Anabaptists, Familists, Antimonians, Arminians, and others, far too numerous to be recounted. Every congregation then formed itself into a separate church, with the right of exercising its own censures over its proper pastors, or its proper members. When these churches had greatly multiplied, they found their congregational form of government loudly condemned by the Presbyterians, against whom they now resolved to enter into some compact of mutual defence; and hence the consolidation of multifarious sects under the common name of INDEPENDENTS. The Independents advocated a general toleration to all religious parties whatever, except such as favoured popery and prelacy; and they were opposed to every ecclesiastical establishment, and every spiritual court which should be appointed by the state.

The Presbyterians were roused to the deepest anger at this formidable opposition. They declared that an indulgence of this kind would make the Church of Christ resemble the ark of Noah, and that it would be a receptacle for all unclean beasts. But in spite of this remonstrance, these free notions were embraced by the army. The officers became ministers, who, with prayers and exhortations, encouraged their men to the holy fight. By these preachers, who were republicans likewise, a manifesto was drawn up named THE CITY REMONSTRANCE, wherein all the troubles of England were attributed to the sordid views of self-interested placemen. The independents invited subscriptions to it, and so gratifying were certain of its sentiments to the cavaliers, that some few of them gave it their public support;—among these was Twyford of Manchester, who for his malignancy had been banished his native town.

The free notions of the independents were not long in finding their way to Lancashire, particularly through the medium of a pamphlet industriously dispersed, which was written by Master Samuel Eaton, and Master Timothy Taylor, two of the independent preachers. This publication provoked a reply from Mr Hollingworth, Chaplain of the Manchester College, under the title of "Certain Que-

ries, modestly, though plainly, propounded to such as affect the congregational way." In this work he asked, among divers other questions, "If the setting up of a church in a church, and exhorting the one out of the other, or out of churches, did not imply the incorrigibleness, incurableness, dissolving or disannulling of that church or churches out of which it was extracted?"—"Whether if seven or eight, nine, ten, twenty, separately, yea sinfully (as if they turned Brownists, Anabaptists, Familists, Antimonians, Arminians, &c. from a congregation,) did, by a particular covenant, combine themselves together, whether they were a distinct independent church?"—And again, "If the Parliament performed their promises when they loosed the golden reins of discipline, and left private men or particular congregations to take up what form of divine service they pleased, without requiring uniformity to that order which the laws enjoined according to God's word?"

While Mr Hollingworth was content with wielding his harmless logical weapons against the independents, Mr Heyrick went more effectively to work. He saw that their principles had already made some progress among the members of the House of Commons, and that, if any further delay took place in the organization of the Presbyterian government, the independents would gain an ascendancy that would be with difficulty reclaimable. He determined, therefore, before schismatic opinions could gain much further progress, to collect in an imposing remonstrance to Parliament the names of all such as were anxious for the immediate establishment of the discipline which had been recommended by the Westminster assembly. The address, after congratulating the two Houses on the success of their councils and armies, and on the prospect of peace and reformation in religion, protested against many recent measures in which sufficient zeal had not been manifested for the national covenant, or deference paid to the advice given by the reverend and learned divines of both kingdoms. It then stated, that, owing to the unsettled condition of the church government, schism, errors, heresy, profaneness and blasphemy had woefully spread, separate congregations had been erected and multiplied, sectaries had grown insolent, confidently expecting a toleration through the misconstruction of a late declaration, and through the encouragement of some in eminent place, to the great astonishment of the orthodox nobility, gentry, ministry, and others well affected of both kingdoms. To remedy these evils, it was prayed that some strict and speedy course might be taken for the suppression of all separate congregations of Anabaptists, Brownists, Heretics, Schismatics, Blasphemers, and other sectaries, who did or should refuse to submit to that discipline and government which was most agreeable to the word of God, and the

example of the best reformed churches ; and it was also implored, that, agreeably to the advice of the assembly of the divines of both kingdoms, such a discipline and government might with all possible speed be perfected and confirmed by the civil sanction, and that refusers and members of separate congregations should be removed and kept out of all places of public trust.

Great exertions were made to obtain signatures to this address. Mr Bourne, the veteran champion of Puritanism, showed extraordinary vigilance in the cause, which act was the last public one of his life. He died soon afterwards full of years, and was buried with great honour.¹

Mr Hollingworth, who about this time was made fellow of the College, proclaimed from the pulpit, that none refused to sign the address but covenant-breakers or malignants, which, said the independents, " was a great grief to some godly souls then present." Owing to this denunciation, so many suspected persons subscribed for fear that a refusal might subject them to the inquisition of committees, that such leading gentlemen of the county as were supporters of the remonstrance felt chagrined that their names should appear in the same column with known malignants, and therefore placed avouchers over the scroll to check any irregularity. By the incessant exertions made during two months to swell the list of petitioners, signatures were procured to the amount of eight thousand, five hundred and seventy-eight, of which six thousand were said to be from the hundred of Salford. The address was then forwarded to the two Houses, as the humble petition of many thousands of the well-affected gentlemen, ministers, freeholders, and other inhabitants of the county palatine of Lancaster.

The Presbyterian address of Lancashire excited much interest. It gave occasion to a pamphlet entitled " A New Birth of the City Remonstrance," in which some severe remarks were made on the manner in which the signatures were obtained, and a counter petition was suggested. This procured a rejoinder from Mr John Tilsley, minister at Dean Church, Lancashire, and one of the avouchers of the petition.

The exertions of Mr Heyrick and his party to hasten the establishment of the Presbyterian discipline of Lancashire were at length successful. In an act dated October 2d, 1646, the recommendation was sanctioned, that the county of Lancaster should be formed into an ecclesiastical province ; that the spiritual affairs of each congregation should be managed by its own presbytery ; that the province

¹ On the occasion of his funeral, two addresses in his eulogium are recorded to have been preached : the one by Mr Thomas Johnson of Illingbrook, and the other by Mr Alexander Horrocks, minister of Dean Church.

should be partitioned into nine classical districts, each to be governed by a monthly assembly of its own congregational presbyteries ; and that delegates from each classical assembly should meet as synods at stated periods to legislate for the whole.

In this act there was no acknowledgment of the *jus divinum* of the elders, or of their uncontrolled power of excommunicating ; but with the view of still farther protecting the civil liberty of the subject, a provision was made, that the censures passed by the various presbyteries should receive the salutary check of the civil magistrate whenever they infringed on his province. This part of the act gave much dissatisfaction to the ministers of Lancashire. At their first meeting, held November 17th, 1646, at Preston, they professed that they retained the same opinion with regard to their divine right that had been defended by the assembly of divines. They were nevertheless willing to put in force the act upon the conviction " that the civil magistrate from whom they enjoyed the freedom of their office, being a Christian and godly, as he knew he was in duty bound, would be ready to assist, maintain, and fortify the jurisdiction of the church ;"—and in return, they expressed themselves " bound to yield all due subjection to the civil power, not only for wrath, but also for conscience sake."

We thus find the presbyteries of Lancashire entering on their office with every disposition to exercise an unlimited sway, but with functions greatly circumscribed. They were not, however, discouraged. They made known to their several congregations the general principles that would guide their labours. They stated that they were not so discontent because their desires were not completed as to do nothing at all, particularly as the Parliament had declared that it was unreasonable to expect that a present rule should in every instance apply ; that they had found many things established in the present ordinances agreeable to the rule of God ; and that they would execute what they apprehended in them to be so, in the hopes that an entire model of church government would be perfected when God's time should come, and they be fitted for receiving so great a mercy. They then congratulated the inhabitants of Lancashire that the Parliament had removed the Book of Common Prayer, with all its unnecessary and burdensome ceremonies, and commanded the Directory in the room thereof ; that it had abolished the prelatical hierarchy, and, instead thereof, laid the foundation of a Presbyterian government in every congregation, with subordination to classical, provincial, and national assemblies ; that such a government preserved a golden mean betwixt prelatical tyranny and popular anarchy ; that it was a government which the old godly non-conformists, who were in their time pillars in the church, and the mo-

derate conacionable conformists did pray for, contend for, write for, suffer for, and which, if they had lived to see, would have caused them to have sung old Simeon's song.—And at the conclusion of their address, they expressed their hopes, that, in their weighty undertaking, they might do all things to the advancement of the power of godliness, the suppression of errors, schisms, and profaneness, the edification, peace, and establishing of the church, the just and due content of the Christian magistrate, and the peace and comfort of their own souls here.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE MODE IN WHICH THE PRESBYTERIAN DISCIPLINE WAS PUT INTO EFFECT IN
THE FIRST CLASSIS OF LANCASHIRE, NAMED THE MANCHESTER CLASSIS.

By Dr HIBBERT.

HITHERTO a strange kind of reluctance has been shown by some writers to record the events connected with the Presbyterian form of church government which prevailed in Lancashire, although it subsisted during so long a period as fourteen years. To follow this example in the present volume, would be of equal absurdity with the attempt to draw up a history of the religion of Europe to the omission of the Protestantism of a Luther. There are indeed no events of greater interest to be found in the annals of Manchester, than those which occur from the year 1646 to 1660; but in order to understand them, some previous familiarity with the church discipline to which they refer becomes indispensable. To this object the present chapter will be wholly devoted. ^{*}

^{*} To illustrate this part of our history very little indeed has been written. Mr Walker, in his *Sufferings of the Episcopal Clergy*, has given some few extracts from the minutes of the second Lancashire classis, in which the churches of Bury, Bolton, Rochdale, and some others were included. "They are," he observes, "the only things of that kind I ever saw, nothing of a like nature having, as far as I know, been yet made public." Very recently, however, extracts from the proceedings of the first or Manchester classis were published by a respectable minister of Manchester through the medium of a periodical journal. On these being pointed out to me, I made interest to avail myself of a similar source of information, which was in a very obliging manner granted. But as numerous other particulars were desirable, I have been obliged to glean them with exceeding labour from contemporary pamphlets, which have now become extremely rare.—S. H.

Agreeably to an act of the two Houses, dated the 2d October 1646, each congregation in the various parishes of Lancashire had been directed to be ruled by its own proper Presbytery.

A Presbytery was composed of *teaching elders* who were regularly ordained, and of *lay* or *ruling elders*. While the former were named *ministers*, it was usual to limit the title of *elders* to the latter.

A certain number of contiguous parishes or congregations constituted a classical division, nine of which classical divisions were included in the county of Lancaster.

The Presbyterian discipline was carried on, *first*, by congregational assemblies, each congregation being under the immediate rule of its ministers and elders; *secondly*, by monthly classical assemblies, composed of delegates from the several congregations of each classical division of Lancashire; and, *thirdly*, by synods, which were formed by delegates from each classis. These will be severally described in reference to the Church of Manchester.

1st, The Congregational Government of the Church of Manchester.

The congregation of Manchester was under the immediate rule of its own ministers and elders.

The former were Mr Heyrick, who continued for some time to retain his title, functions, and emoluments of warden; Mr Hollingworth, Fellow of the College, and Mr William Walker, who simply styled himself minister. They were early directed to be quick-sightedly watchful against the springing up and spreading of errors, and the breaking out of divisions.—This indeed was the general advice given to the ministers of Lancashire.

The congregation of Manchester was very early induced to chuse for itself elders. The number required does not appear to have been limited, but to have kept pace with its exigencies. The first elders chosen were Mr John Gaskell, Mr Edward Johnson, Mr Ralph Briddocke, and Mr Thomas Smith.

When a vacancy occurred in the eldership, the minister summoned the congregation, and after a sermon had been delivered, demanded that an election should be made. Among later elders created in the church of Manchester, we find the names of Mr Richard Meare, Mr John Brownsword, Mr Rowland Wright, Mr Thomas Diconson, Mr Richard Hawarth, and Mr Thomas Bradshaw.

The lay elders received no pecuniary emoluments. With regard to ministers, the Presbyterian divines argued that tithes were to be considered as holy and as devoted to the service of the Church, but that, as an expedient, a settled mainte-

nance was to be preferred. Some churches made provision for their ministers from the lands which they possessed, but this was not always possible, as many endowments became confiscated to the use of the state. The sentiments of the people being highly democratic, tithes were with difficulty collected.

The joint duty of ministers and ruling elders was summed up after the following manner:—they were to labour according to their places to bring all their people to the knowledge of the Christian faith and religion. In the prosecution of this duty, they were commanded to keep up constant meetings, and to register their most material acts.

Private members of congregations were exhorted to observe diligently the ordinances of the Gospel, of which discipline was considered as nothing more than the conservatory. Governors of families were particularly recommended to promote the church discipline, by seeing that the domestic duties of prayer and religious instruction were duly kept up.

To the labour of catechising the greatest importance was attached. One of the first resolutions of the Synod of Lancashire was, that the ministers within the province should endeavour to bring in all to be catechised by them either publicly or privately. The elders were likewise urged to assist in instructing such as had not given satisfaction to them in point of religious knowledge. For the special advancement of this object, one day at least during each month was set apart. It was named a public exercise, and was kept as a fast.

It is now of some consequence to remark, that the whole of this course of instruction was directed to the main and professed object of the Presbyterian discipline, which was to prepare each member of a congregation to receive the Lord's Supper worthily. "No person," said the Lancashire Synod, "is on any account wretchedly to deprive himself of that soul-feasting ordinance, but he must submit to be catechised by the minister, and tried and ordained by the eldership."

It was the province of the ruling elders to observe if a communicant came regularly to the Lord's Supper; and it was left to them to use such means for the purpose as they should deem expedient, provided that they were not found to be generally offensive. In all cases where the members of a church had the opportunity of convening, private communions were not allowed; and if a congregation happened to be for a time without a minister or an efficient eldership, members might repair to the communion table of some neighbouring congregation: but in this case, they were required to bring with them a testimonial from the Presbytery they had at any time served under of their good life and conversation. This testimonial was equally necessary whenever a communicant removed from one classical division of the county to another.

The mode in which the sacrament was administered appears to have been nearly the same as that of the present Scottish Presbyterians. In the first classis of Lancashire a direction was published, (the importance of which it is difficult to comprehend,) that all the ministers, for the sake of uniformity, should, in the celebration of the Lord's Supper, bless the bread and wine severally.

The admission of the unworthy to the communion of saints (for such was the term commonly used) was considered as a profanation of the most heinous kind. A solemn charge was therefore given to every member of a congregation, who should be acquainted with such offences of a brother as would unqualify him, except upon repentance, to receive the divine ordinance worthily, to adopt in this case the rule of Christ. This rule was explained after the following manner :—As the recovery of a fallen brother is to be accounted a happy gain, the first step to the process of church discipline is to meet him in private, with a set, solemn, and effective admonition, delivered with wisdom, fidelity, and meekness. If this does not produce repentance, the second step is to return to him accompanied by one or two faithful brethren, that they may be both witnesses and assistants to a second admonition. If the labour be still ineffective, the third remedy is to tell the offence to the church, by acquainting the eldership with the trespass, and the means which have been used to recover the transgressor. In this course of admonition and prosecution, the memory of old and forgotten offences is not from private spleen to be revived. The fallen brother is to be also advised to receive the admonitions of a church officer as an act of conscience, love, and kindness, and as an excellent oil wherewith to heal him.

An exception, however, was made to this rule whenever openly divulged scandals occurred. It was ordered in this case, that the last remedy be forthwith and at once put into effect.

Any irresolution under such circumstances to prosecute accused persons, or the reluctance of witnesses to give their testimony, was deemed highly culpable. When the necessity has arrived, says the Synod, to bring a fallen brother before the eldership, it is on no account to be omitted by any one who tendereth the saving of the offender, the putting away the evil from the church, the vindication of the name of Christ, the purity of the divine ordinance, and even the freeing himself from being a partaker of the sins of another.

The censures of the church, which were variously awarded against the ignorant and scandalous, were three in number : the censure of admonition, the censure of suspension from the Lord's table, and the censure of excommunication.

The censure of admonition, which was applicable to offences of a less heinous

nature, was rendered additionally painful by the publicity with which it was accompanied. If the admonition to not persist in the crime was disregarded, the more severe sentence was pronounced of suspension from the holy ordinance.

The censure of suspension due to more weighty offences was calculated to excite a deeper sense of shame, and to awaken poignant feelings of dread for the great peril that awaited the soul during its exclusion from the benefits of the holy ordinance. Nor could the sentence be averted without concessions of the deepest and most degrading humiliation, pronounced before the minister and elders in the face of an assembled congregation. These public professions of repentance were then accepted under the name of *satisfaction*.

In the proceedings of the classical Presbytery of Manchester and the neighbourhood, several directions were given relative to the mode in which the satisfaction offered by an offender ought to be published. It was ordered, that, when an eldership had dealt with a man who was guilty of some notorious sin, and had found some willingness in him to give satisfaction, they were to publish this his willingness, with a desire that the congregation would pray for him, and observe the sorrow of the work of God in him, preparing him for public satisfaction. It is stated, for example, in the minutes of the Manchester Presbytery, that George G—— declared himself willing to give public satisfaction for the great sin of incest, and that the congregation would have timely notice of the day when his concession would be made. In the meantime, his compunctions were marked, and public intercessions were offered up in his behalf. At the expiration of two months he made due amends, which are thus recorded: “He made public acknowledgment in the Church of Manchester upon the Sabbath day of the 10th of February, betwixt the hours of nine and ten in the forenoon.”

But when an offender refused to tender satisfaction to the church, private notice was given him that his obstinacy would be proclaimed, and that the higher sentence of excommunication might ensue. For a notification of this kind, the following directory was drawn up by Mr Hollingworth, and ordered to be used:—

“Forasmuch as A. B. hath been convicted [*by witness or by his own confession, or both,*] before the eldership of this congregation to stand guilty of [*adultery, fornication, or the like,*] they having seriously considered the heinousness and scandalousness of the sin in itself, [*here let some few pertinent Scriptures be produced to prove the greatness of the said sin,*] and the several aggravating circumstances in A. B., [*here let the aggravations be mentioned*] and having used all Christian and loving means to bring him to the sight of and godly sorrow for his grievous sin, [*here let the means used by the eldership be stated in case of*

his appearance or non-appearance,] by which God is greatly dishonoured, his soul endangered, the rest of the church grieved and offended, and occasion given to others to speak evil of the ways of God ; yet not perceiving that godly sorrow which worketh repentance to life, and a readiness and willingness to give public satisfaction, have, in the name and power of the Lord Jesus Christ, according to their duty, and the merit of his sin and carriage, judicially suspended him from the high ordinance of the Lord's Supper.—Waiting, moreover, and praying that God would open his eyes, teach his heart, mightily convince and humble him, and renew repentance in him, we earnestly desire you, in the bowels of the Lord Jesus Christ, to help forward the work of God, to pity him, and pray for him, that, if it be possible, there may be no necessity of proceeding to a further and heavier censure against him.”

When an offender, after having been suspended from the Lord's table, persisted in his crime, every Presbytery was admonished to proceed to the appalling sentence of excommunication, which, according to the Presbyterian faith, forbade all spiritual hopes of salvation as long as it was in force. The ejected person was then considered as removed from the discipline of the church.

Means were notwithstanding taken for still reclaiming the outcast. A provincial Synod declared that the recovery of excommunicated persons was to be endeavoured by all Christians, especially by the church officers. And when signs of deep repentance were shown, and public satisfaction had been rendered, the sentence was reversed.

These were the regulations concerning the Lord's Supper which were enforced in the Presbyterian Church ; the great end of its discipline being to prepare communicants to partake worthily of the divine ordinance, and to protect the sacraments from being profaned by the presence of the ignorant and scandalous. With this object in view, the elderships most scrupulously refused to admit such infant children within their church, as were likely from their education to be unfit for the communion of saints. The rites of baptism were consequently denied in all instances where the parents laboured under any reproach, or where they had refused to make due satisfaction for their errors.

Other congregational laws of the Presbyterian Church related to mere modes of devotion. These appear to have been suggested by one common principle, which was to exclude everything that had been associated with the prior usages of the prelatical government. The worship was according to the directory of the Westminster divines, where discountenance was given to set forms of prayer. It did not differ materially from that which is still adopted by the Presbyterian

Church of Scotland, and by many of the English dissenters of the present day. In Manchester much prejudice subsisted against the service being performed in the stalled choir of the church, and in the face of the altar, for which reason the spacious chapel built by Warden Stanley is said by tradition to have been selected as the place of meeting. But most probably the nave of the church, which after the reformation had been provided with ample galleries, was likewise in use. The divine services were performed on the Sunday three times a-day ; the first commencing at six o'clock.

The ceremony of baptism was required to be administered before a large congregation ; nor could it take place on a common week day if previous notice of the intention had not been published. It was ordered, as in Scotland, that the parent should be his own sponsor and hold up the child himself. The imprinting of the sign of the cross upon the forehead of the child was condemned as a Popish observance.

The pledge of the ring in marriage was considered equally antichristian. Little more was required in the matrimonial contract, than that it should be public, and accompanied by prayer and a suitable exhortation.

All the holy days of the calendar were abolished. The synod of Lancashire commanded that those who kept schools should allow such times of recreation as were authorized by the directory ; that they should leave off the observing of holy days, and exchange them for more convenient times. Christmas was held in great abhorrence, but it was found difficult, if not impossible, to efface the convivial associations which the ancient feast of Yule, the harbinger of the new year, never failed to excite. A period in spring was therefore fixed upon as the commencement of each annual term. Accordingly, the congratulations of the Presbyterians for the return of a new year were transferred to the first of April,—the most ominous of all days.¹

The congregational government of the Presbyterian church of Manchester is at length explained ; we may therefore now take a glance at the monthly classical assembly to which it was subordinate.

2. The Subordination of the Church of Manchester to the First Classical Assembly of the Presbyterian Province of Lancaster.

It has been already observed that a number of contiguous parishes or congre-

¹ It is of importance for an historian of Lancashire to keep this circumstance in mind, as all the publications of the Presbyterians which were sent to press observe this alteration of date.

gations formed a classical division, nine of which classical divisions were comprehended in the ecclesiastical province of Lancaster. Of these, the first was named the Manchester classis. It included the parishes of Manchester, Prestwich, Oldham, Flixton, Eccles, and Ashton-under-line.

Each month delegates of ministers and elders from every congregation in this classical division were commanded to meet, in order to form an ecclesiastical court, named a classical assembly or classis, whose duty it was to redress grievances, to pass censures, and, in short, to direct the spiritual affairs of the whole of the parishes comprised within its jurisdiction.

The second Tuesday of each month, at ten or eleven o'clock in the forenoon, was the time appointed for the regular assembly of the first classis; and, according to tradition, the Presbyteries met in the large room of the college, which had been the refectory.

Great pains were taken to enforce the regular attendance of the ministers and elders. Such as did not appear precisely at the hour, or were absent altogether, and could not advance a reasonable excuse, were liable to admonition. The highest censures of the church might be awarded for continuing to withdraw from the assembly, or for contempt of its authority.

The first meeting of the Manchester classis was held in February 1647. Mr Heyrick was the moderator of the assembly. A Mr Gee was the scribe. An extract from the minutes will best acquaint us with some of the forms kept up.

“ The first meeting at Manchester, February 16th, 1646, (*i. e.* 1647 : *see note*!). Mr Heyrick chosen moderator, beginning with prayer.

“ Elders for the congregation of Manchester elected for the classis appeared : John Gaskell, Edward Johnson, Ralph Briddocke, Thomas Smith, elders.—Elders for the congregation at Prestwich, Mr Tobie Furnace, minister : Peter Sergeant, James Wroe, James Taylor, elders.—Elders for Eccles, Thomas Barlow, Thomas Rogers, Thomas Warburton, Thomas Fyldes, elders.—Elders for the congregation of Ashton-under-line, Mr John Harrison, minister ; Captain Ashton of Sheply, Robert Bardsley, Edmund Heywood, Robert Leech, elders.

“ None appeared from Newton. It is answered that the reason was because of some difference between the minister and people.—Mr Jones, minister of Eccles appeared not. It is answered that he was not able to come on account of sickness.—Mr Wilmore, minister of Flixton appeared not.

“ Orders agreed on by this classis to be observed by the members of all subsequent meetings : First, that a moderator be chosen for the next meeting ; second-

ly, that he begin and end with prayer ; thirdly, that none shall speak, but to the moderator with his hat off ; fourthly, that none shall begin to speak till he who spake before be set down ; fifthly, that he who first stands up to speak shall first speak ; sixthly, that he who hath not spoken to the present business shall speak, if he desire it, before any that hath formerly spoken ; seventhly, that the present business be fully determined before the following be begun."

Several regulations concerning church discipline then passed the meeting, most of which have been explained.

The judiciary functions of the classis may now be described ;—these were extensive.

The assembly had a control over the moral conduct of ministers and ruling elders, being instructed to inquire whether they were sufficient for their callings, industrious in the execution thereof, and unblameable in their walking.

The assembly was likewise authorized to examine candidates for the ministry ; to see that they were duly qualified in point of morals and learning for the sacred office to which they aspired, and that none but properly ordained ministers officiated in the various churches. As this duty occupied much of the business of the class, its details will meet with a separate description.

It was the province of the classis to examine if the ruling elders were men of good understanding in religion, sound in the faith, prudent, discreet, grave, and of unblemished conversation, and willing to undergo the labours of their office. We accordingly find in the minutes of the classical assembly of Manchester and the neighbourhood many such notices as the following :—" Elders for the congregation of Ellenbrook appeared ; they were examined and approved." Not unfrequently the assembly was obliged to give hearing to the exceptions which were taken out against the choice of elders. This was the case in the first meeting held by the Manchester classis. Many charges were brought against one of the elders of Chorlton to show that he was a man of a scandalous life. He was accused, for instance, of slandering Sir William Brereton,—of throwing a flaggon in the face of an honest neighbour,—of swearing by his faith,—of binding the hands of a widow of light repute behind her back, whence she became bound to grant him her favours,—of having a daughter *genita ante nuptias*, and a son born twenty-seven weeks after marriage.—The assembly pronounced him unqualified to be a ruling elder.

The assembly was again directed to inquire into the state of the various congregational presbyteries, to secure the efficiency of which, many rigid laws had been enacted. Any minister or elder neglecting to observe the meetings of elderships,

or to fulfil the duties entrusted to him, was liable to the censure of admonition by the presbytery which he had thus slighted ; and if this availed not, the complaint might be brought before the classis. When an appeal was judged expedient, the assembly first tried the effect of admonition, and, if the neglect was repeated, it incurred the censure of suspension from the Lord's Supper. Nor was it possible to screen any delinquent. Each classis was required by the provincial Synod to bring authentic proofs that presbyteries kept up constant meetings ; that they registered their most material acts ; that they gave in delegates to the classis under their minister's hand ; that their several congregations had the Lord's Supper regularly administered ; and, in short, that the general government of the church was put into execution. When any neglect or omission was detected the following warrant was sent : " By virtue of an order of the provincial assembly at Preston, we, the first classis of the province of Lancaster, do require you, the ministers and elders of _____, to demand of _____, one of your elders, the cause of his withdrawing from the duty of his office, or of his absenting from the elderships, that you may certify us thereof, and that we may give account thereof to the provincial committee as we are required."—This was signed by the moderator. A book was likewise kept in which all charges against church officers, or charges of ignorance and scandal against private members of congregations, which had at any time occurred in the different parishes of the classis, were required to be duly registered.

The same assembly undertook to adjudge in all such cases of alleged ignorance and scandal as were conceived to be too important or too difficult for a common congregational eldership to decide ; and when complaints against the moral conduct of ministers or ruling elders had been made, they were strictly scrutinized. On these occasions the following were the usual forms of warrant that were sent : " These are to require you whose names are hereunto subscribed, to appear before us at Manchester, the first classis in the county palatine of Lancaster, upon _____ being the _____ day of _____ by ten of the clock in the afternoon of the same day, then and there to make answers to such things as shall be objected against you."—Or the warrant, according to circumstances, was differently expressed : " Forasmuch as complaint hath been made to this classis, that you whose [*name or names is or are*] here underwritten, have committed the sin of _____ and not given satisfaction for the same, these are therefore to require you to appear before this classis the second Tuesday in _____ next, to give an account in the premises."—As in all these cases witnesses were required, any one refusing to give testimony was liable to the heavy censures of the church.

Not unfrequently the assembly, instead of dealing out its censures, acted as conciliators. An elder of Chorlton was accused of giving his minister the lie while in the pulpit. The business ended by the man owning he had done wrong, and proposing to make an apology.

One of the great labours of a classical assembly was to arbitrate in the disputes occurring in congregational elderships, as, for instance, between a minister and the elders associated with him, among elders themselves, or between elderships and congregations. Thus, when certain persons who had been appointed elders of the congregation of Didsbury refused to accept of their office, a deputation of ministers and elders was appointed by the classis to confer with them, though without much success.—And again, in the case of a minister of Chorlton, whose salary of thirty-five pounds *per annum* was complained of as inadequate to his support, the classis in a similar manner remonstrated with the parishioners, who increased the sum to fifty pounds.

A classical assembly had likewise the power of reversing the decrees of congregational elderships upon any well-founded complaints of neglect of hearing, or unwise delay.

Applications were again made to the classis to reverse sentences of excommunication when offenders had publicly humiliated themselves, and had evinced great contrition. An instance of this may be found in the records of the first classis. The elders of Ashton-under-line had ordered a man and a woman to be brought before the presbytery on a charge of fornication ; but before satisfaction had been given for the sin they chose to be married :—which attempt to evade the church censure was considered an unpardonable aggravation of the fault. The affair was brought before the first classis, when the following sentence was recorded :—“ George Morland *alias* Cyres appeared before the classis, and did confess his committing the foul and scandalous sins of adultery and fornication with Ann Chadwick, to whom since he is married, pretending thereby to excuse her appearance. Ordered by the classis :—That the eldership of Ashton-under-line proceed to the excommunication of George Morland *alias* Cyres and Ann his wife ; and that an exercise be holden at Ashton-under-line, upon Wednesday the 29d February instant, in order to the business of the said excommunication of the parties before-mentioned.” Several months after this event, the penitence which this guilty pair had been induced to publicly express, was brought before the classis as a plea for the reversion of the sentence. It was then published, that “ George Morland of Ashton-under-line appeared manifesting much sorrow for his sins of adultery and fornication, the eldership certifying with him and his wife their pub-

lic and satisfactory acknowledgment :—It is ordered by the classis that the sentence of excommunication be reversed, and publication thereof made by the said elderships.”

In the next place, a classical assembly assumed such legislative functions as were not supposed to militate against the higher authority of synods or acts of Parliament. Upon the reports of congregational presbyteries, such bye-laws were founded as were deemed expedient for the internal government of a classical district.

Questions of supposed difficulty were also submitted to the classis, as for instance regarding the expediency, under peculiar circumstances, of putting in force the sentences of excommunication. One curious query is recorded as a case of conscience : “ How far may a man keep company with one who is well known to entertain heretical opinions ? ” The answer is not stated. When questions occurred too difficult even for a classical assembly to solve, it was ordered that some able members from a neighbouring classis might be invited to be present during the deliberation, and to give assistance by their counsel.

In the next place, the days to be set apart for specific purposes were announced ; as the times when it was deemed convenient to put in force the private instruction of families, or public catechisings, as well as days of humiliation or thanksgiving.

Another duty of the assembly was to choose delegates for the provincial synods. The classis of Manchester and its neighbouring parishes usually deputed three ministers and six ruling elders ; except when it was required, in its turn, to send an additional minister to preach to the synod. These delegates were ordered to submit to decision such questions of difficulty as the classis could not solve, and they were required upon their return to report the general proceedings in which they had been a party. They likewise stated the questions that were to be discussed in a subsequent synod, with the view that preparations might be made to take part in the debate.

Lastly, the classis made arrangements for its ensuing assembly. A single illustration will suffice :—“ Master Heyrick [*sometimes named Mr Warden*] to preach the next classis.—Master Angier, Moderator the next classis.—Next classis to be the second Tuesday in January next.—The Moderator ended with prayer.”

3. *The Subordination of the Church of Manchester to the Synods of the Ecclesiastical Province of Lancaster.*

It has been explained, that the Presbyterian province of Lancaster was divided into nine classical divisions, each of which comprehended many parishes.

It was ordered by the Parliament, that delegates of ministers and elders from every classis in the county should, at stated intervals, assemble in some central part of it to legislate for the whole. A *synod*, as a meeting of this kind was named, had the power of legislating for the province, of reversing the judgments of each classis, and of deciding upon such questions of difficulty as were submitted to its councils.

Agreeably to this command, delegates from the different classical districts of Manchester, Bolton, Warrington, Blackburne, Leyland, Preston, West Derby, the Filde Country, and Lancaster, were sent each quarter to form the synods that were convened at Preston.

Previous to one of these provincial meetings being held, we find the following order in the minutes of the classis of Manchester :—" It was this day agreed that all the ministers in this classis should, in their several congregations, give notice of the provincial assembly, and should instruct the people touching the nature and benefit thereof, and desire their congregations, jointly and earnestly, to pray in the Lord for his blessing on that meeting the next national fast day."

The synod was usually summoned to the church of Preston at ten o'clock in the forenoon, and its deliberations were preceded by a sermon and prayer. Such delegates as did not attend were charged to be admonished by their respective presbyteries.

In each synod, delegates were ordered to report the state of the several classical districts; how many congregational elderships were in each, and in what manner classical meetings were observed.

The synod sat as a legislative body. Delegates from each classis of a minister and elder formed a committee, which met from time to time, in order to resolve any difficult questions that might be put to them relative to the mode of conducting the presbyterian discipline; which answers, when sanctioned by the synod, formed a code which directed the proceedings of the whole of the ecclesiastical province.

Appeals were heard against the decrees and censures of congregational and classical assemblies. This was found particularly necessary in reference to tickets for admission to the Lord's Supper, which the private members of a congregation were entitled to demand, after they had passed the ordeal of their presbytery. It was therefore recommended, that if any dispute occurred relative to the distribution of tickets, it was to be referred to the eldership, and in case they could not settle it, to a classical assembly; and, as a still higher appeal, to a provincial synod. These appeals were often successful. The eldership of Bolton had suspended a

Mr Bradshaw on the charge of allowing a scandalous minister to officiate at his chapel. The defendant demanded the judgment of a synod; it was then found, that the suspension had taken place without either a previous admonition having been given, or a fair trial having ensued. The sentence was accordingly reversed.

A synod likewise undertook to enforce judgment upon persons who hesitated to bow to the decrees of congregational presbyteries and classical assemblies; as, for example, to eject a scandalous minister who refused to quit the church after he had been pronounced incompetent for divine offices.

When synods met, approbation was voted for able defences which had been written of presbyterian principles; and not unfrequently committees were appointed to prepare replies in refutation of attacks.

Lastly, the synods of Lancashire gave orders to put into execution courses of religious instruction, or appointed thanksgivings for national blessings, or solemn fasts in the time of war, pestilence, and famine.^m

The internal government of the church of Manchester, with its subordination to classical assemblies and to provincial synods, has at length been described. After so much had been done by the Parliament for the establishment of the ecclesiastical government of Lancashire, an ordinance appeared, dated the 29th of January 1647, for the speedy dividing and settling of other counties into congregational elderships and classical presbyteries; but for the execution of this order too much time had been allowed to transpire. The kingdom was already divided into two great parties, the Presbyterians and the Independents, so that it was found impossible to establish the proposed discipline in other parts, the city of London excepted. The ecclesiastical government of many counties was in the meantime feebly attempted by means of committees. Shropshire, for instance, had an interim committee to guide its Presbyterian interests, and Cheshire, for the same purpose, had its associate ministers.

If the discipline, which was limited to Lancashire and London, had been universal in England, it would have been enacted, that delegates of elders from all parts should form a national assembly for the purpose of overruling the whole of the ecclesiastical affairs of the country; subject, however, to the wholesome check of the Parliament, whenever their proceedings should be found to militate against the civil authority. But the utmost that had been done towards this measure was in the convening of the Westminster Divines, who became in time inefficient.

^m It may be noticed, that among the Westminster Divines a synod admitted of a subdivision of functions, being divided by them into provincial, natural, and oecumenical. But there is no evidence that these modifications were adopted in Lancashire.

Their directory of worship gradually ceased to be considered as obligatory, and the catechism which they published was found so unintelligible, that the Manchester classical assembly was obliged to prepare another, which was better adapted to the popular comprehension. In short, the synod of Lancashire was not subordinate to any higher ecclesiastical assembly. It owed no submission, except to the civil magistrate and to the Parliament.

4. The mode of Examining and Ordaining Candidates for the Ministry, which was adopted in the first Classis of Lancashire.

The discussion under this head must be considered as supplementary to the second division of the present chapter. It was there remarked, that each classical assembly of Lancashire was authorized to examine and ordain candidates for the ministry, but that, as this office occupied much of the attention of a classis, its details would more conveniently meet with a separate description.

No classical assembly belonging to Lancashire could ordain for any church in this province, unless it was included in the district over which it presided; but it had the power of granting ordination to candidates, for such churches as were situated in other counties, where the Presbyterian discipline had not been matured.

Owing to the great number of vacant ministries in Lancashire and other places, occasioned by the secession of the clergy who had refused to conform to the Presbyterian government, a great anxiety was very early felt for an act of Parliament by which each classis would be empowered to ordain. In the meantime, many young candidates, named by the Presbyterians *expectants*, lost no time in completing their studies in the English colleges; while many repaired for the same purpose to the Scottish Universities of Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Saint Andrews, in the hopes that a practical knowledge of the Presbyterian discipline might be an additional recommendation to their preferment.

It was one of the Presbyterian institutes, that "God had committed the power of ordaining to elders, and not to any unofficed man; and that not one in a thousand was competent to try and judge of the sufficiency of preaching Presbyters." Upon this principle the test of qualification for an ordained minister was rendered very strict. Most of the laws, therefore, which relate to ordination, cannot be too highly commended.

When an expectant, after completing his education, sought for a vacant church, he provided himself with suitable recommendations, with which he repaired to a congregation and solicited their *call*, or common consent, to be their pastor; and if the church possessed a patron, his acquiescence was likewise needed. If an

expectant failed or neglected to obtain a proper call of this kind, he was remanded. This is evident from the following entry in the Manchester minutes :—" Mr Anthony Allen desired ordination ;—he showed a request and desire from many of the people of Ouston in Lincolnshire, that he might be their minister. It is enjoined unto him to bring a certificate to the next classis that he hath the consent of the patron.—A letter is to be written to the members of the congregation at Ouston, to give them notice of what is required of us by Mr Allen, and to desire their satisfaction that no other minister hath right unto, or holds that place, and that Mr Allen hath consent of the patron."

Whenever an expectant sought for ordination to a church situated in another county, where the Presbyterian government had not been established, the classical assembly to which he addressed himself demanded that the call of the congregation should be accompanied by the concurrence of the committee, or associate ministers, who were the temporary guardians of the new discipline : This is evident from the following entry :—" Henry Vaughan brought a full certificate and approbation from the committee of Salop ; another full certificate from the ministers at Salop ; desired and freely elected by the people of Moreton Sey, in the said county."—And in the case of an expectant called to the church of Weaverham in Cheshire, who neglected to bring this full testimonial, the classis of Manchester, notwithstanding their personal knowledge of his good life, hesitated to ordain him until the pleasure of the associate ministers of that county should be known. ^a

When an expectant was invited to be the chaplain of a family of rank, the testimonial necessary for his examination was the recommendation of his patron.

After the regularity of a call had been acknowledged, the expectant submitted certificates of his good life and conversation. A few specimens may be given of the testimonials which were deemed satisfactory. " Mr John Bridge brought a certificate of his holiness in life from the Yorkshire ministers ; elected and much

^a On this occasion the following letter was sent by the Manchester classis, addressed to the associate ministers meeting at Knutsford, or elsewhere. " For as much as John Holland, a neighbour well known and approved by us, hath addressed himself to this class this day, desiring ordination from us, we should most readily therein have answered his desires, but that we apprehended it most regular, in the first place, to recommend him to you, seeing he is to exercise his ministry amongst you ; yet if you shall be pleased to signify that it will stand with your liking, we shall herein satisfy his desires, seeing he was born amongst us, and has many friends that would willingly be present at his ordination."—In reply to this letter, the associate ministers sanctioned the call of the church of Weaverham, and Mr Holland was consequently acknowledged as an expectant that was entitled to an examination.

desired by the people.”—“ Mr Thomas Clayton, aged about 24 years, brought a certificate of his good conversation from Blackburn, where he was born.”

If it could be shown that an expectant had repented of an objectionable course of life, he was not rejected, but required to make a public satisfaction for his errors before he could be ordained. This was the case with Mr Angier Junior, the son of a highly esteemed minister belonging to the Manchester classis. It is recorded “ that it was put to the vote whether he should be approved of to be ordained ; that he was approved for his parts and ability, but in regard that the offence given by his former course of life was objected, it was appointed by the class that Mr Angier, Mr Harrison, and four other ministers, should speak unto and move him to make an acknowledgment of his carriage before the congregation, thereby to evidence his sorrow and true repentance for the same. Accordingly, the said Mr Angier Junior was dealt with by the parties so named, and he promised to give satisfaction therein, and was thereupon approved to be ordained.”

The next qualification of an expectant was the proof which he could exhibit of high classical and theological attainments. In the Manchester classis several of the ministers were men of considerable learning, and hence the severity of examination which ensued. A very few extracts of the education and degree of knowledge which were required may suffice : “ Mr Hugh Taylor, aged about 28 years, brought certificates of his being Master of Arts of Edinburgh ; of his large progress and ability in Divinity, from St Andrews in Scotland. He hath been examined according to the rules for examination in the ordinance of both Houses of Parliament of the 26th August 1646, and thereupon approved.”—“ Mr Ralph Worsley presented himself to ordination, being Bachelor in Arts of Pembroke Hall in Cambridge ; hath been examined in the languages, in Hebrew, Greek, Logic, Philosophy, Ethics, Physics, and Metaphysics, in Divinity, in Ecclesiastical history and Chronology, and approved.” Among the fewer expectants who offered themselves from the University of Oxford, some excused themselves that they took not their degrees because of the King’s coming thither.

A few notices occur of rejected expectants. It is stated that “ Mr Scoales hath been examined in Logic, Philosophy, Ethics, Physics, Metaphysics, and in Greek, but not approved ;” and in a subsequent meeting, it is added, that “ Mr Scoales hath been examined in Divinity, but neither in that nor in humane learning, hath given any competent satisfaction.—Was advised for the present to forbear preaching, and to apply himself diligently to his private studies.” After eighteen months had expired, the expectant returned, having in the meantime so diligently improved himself, as to take the degree of Master of Arts. Offering

himself, therefore, again to the classis, he underwent a second very full examination, and was successful. In the case of another expectant, it is recorded that he was found very insufficient, and was disallowed.

An additional qualification of the expectant was the proof that he had taken the National Covenant;—that he was solemnly engaged to do his utmost to bring the churches of God to the nearest conjunction in religion, confession of faith, and form of church government; and that he was plighted to the extirpation of Popery, Prelacy, Heresy, and profaneness. In the next place, a theological question was given to the expectant, upon which he was directed to write a thesis, and to maintain it at a subsequent meeting. A few of the subjects discussed on these occasions may be stated, with the positions which were taken up in the defence. An *detur peccatum originale inhærens?* (*Affirmatively defended.*)—An *primum peccatum Adami sit vere et proprie nostrum?* (*Affirm.*)—An *Christus sit mortuus pro singulis hominibus?* (*Negatively defended.*)—An *gratia Dei sit irresistibilis?* (*Neg.*)—An *detur liberum arbitrium in spiritualibus?* (*Affirm.*)—Faith and works afforded inexhaustible topics for the young wranglers: An *fides sola justificet?* (*Affirm.*)—An *fidelis ordinarie certus esse possit de salute sua?* (*Affirm.*)—*Utrum bona opera sint causa justificationis, vel pars aliqua justiciæ nostræ coram Deo?* (*A negative position was taken up, but the arguments being probably deemed inconclusive, the discussion was renewed at a second meeting.*)—An *salus sit ordinarie possibilis?* (*Neg.*)—An *detur perfectio in hac vita?* (*Neg.*)—An *lex moralis sit abrogata?* (*Neg.*)—Protestant tenets were also favourite themes. An *papa sit Antichristus?* (*Affirm.*)—An *sancti sint invocandi?* (*Neg.*)—The sect of the baptists rising into notice, it was demanded, An *infantes sint baptizandi?* (*Affirm.*)—One expectant was required to argue whether the church was the great umpire in all controversies which concerned the Faith;—his position is not stated. As subjects for other theses it was asked, If the Scriptures alone were the judge of all controversies,—or whether there was any ecclesiastical government which was invested with the *jus divinum*, or whether the divine right was possessed by classical assemblies and synods? To each of these last questions a decided affirmative was given.

Expectants were occasionally requested to preach before the classical assembly a probationary sermon, which requisition became at last imperative upon every one who tendered himself for ordination. A text was given him as a part of his exercise; and it was ordered that no young minister should, under any circumstances whatever, preach within the bounds of the classis, until he had complied with this command.

Lastly, the expectant had a written instrument given him, named a *Si quis*, with directions to affix it against the door of the church to which he had a call. It was a notice, that, as the classis had been so far satisfied with the candidate, his ordination would take place at the expiration of a month or somewhat more, provided that in the meantime no exceptions were made out against him ;—which exceptions, if any, were required to be stated at the foot of the instrument, accompanied by signatures. The following is the manner in which a favourable result was recorded : “ Mr Drury returned in his *Si quis*, or instrument, with a certificate subscribed by several of the inhabitants of Gorton, testifying that the instrument had been published in the church of Gorton, and afterwards affixed to the church door, according to order, and that nothing at all was objected against his proceeding to ordination.”

After all these trials had been undergone, a day was fixed for the ordination, the form of which was very simple, being fully explained in the proceedings of the Manchester classis, upon the occasion of a Mr Nathaniel Baxter being elected. “ Preparation unto the said ordination, according to the ordinance in that case directing, being made, and just satisfaction being given to the classis of the age of the said Mr Baxter, his degrees in the University, good life, and call to the ministry of the Gospel in the Congregation of Michael’s upon Wyre, in the county of Lancaster, (by full certificates remaining upon the file and good evidence otherwise made to the class in the premises,) as also he being upon due examination for his abilities and fitness for the work approved,—upon the thirtieth day of March (it being appointed a day of solemn fasting for the business at Manchester) Mr Constantine began with prayer ;—Mr Walker preached ;—Mr Leigh continued in the duty of prayer after sermon ;—Mr Angier Senior propounded the questions to the said Mr Baxter, who did before the congregation make public confession of his faith, and such declaration as was requisite in all other things propounded, according to the ordinance aforesaid.—With earnest prayer performed by the said Mr Angier, he was solemnly set apart to the work of the ministry, by the imposition of the hands of the Presbyters ; exhortation was also given to him touching his duty by the aforesaid Mr Angier, and the action ended with prayer. The congregation was then dismissed.”—It may be here remarked, that if the ordination, instead of taking place at Manchester, had occurred in the distant church of St Michael, where the expectant had received his call, the exhortation of the minister would not have been limited to the duty of the pastor, but would have extended to the relative and mutual duties of the pastor and his congregation.

Finally, an expectant had given to him a certificate of his ordination. Several of these testimonials appear in the minutes of the Manchester classis, the forms of which are nearly alike. The following, which is the certificate of a Mr Thomas Clayton, may be given as a specimen :—" Manchester, in the county of Lancaster :—Whereas Mr Thomas Clayton, Master of Arts, aged about twenty-eight years, hath addressed himself unto us, (authorized by an ordinance of both houses of Parliament, of the twenty-sixth August 1646, for the ordination of ministers,) desiring to be ordained a Presbyter, for that he is chosen and appointed for the work of the ministry in the church of Didsbury, in the county of Lancaster, as by a certificate now remaining with us, touching that his election and appointment, appeareth :—And he having likewise taken the national covenant before us, and exhibited a sufficient testimonial of his diligence and proficiency in his studies, and unblameableness of life and conversation, hath been examined according to the rules for examination in the said ordinance expressed, and thereupon approved :—And there having been no just exception made against his ordination and admission, these may testify to all whom it may concern, that upon the fifteenth day of this month of April, we have proceeded solemnly to set him apart for the office of a Presbyter and work of the ministry and the Gospel, by the laying on of our hands with fasting and prayer, by virtue whereof we do declare him to be a lawful and sufficiently authorized minister of Jesus Christ :—And having good evidence of his lawful and fair calling, not only to the work of the ministry, but to the exercise thereof in the church of Didsbury, in the county aforesaid, we do hereby send him thither, and actually admit him to the said charge, to perform all the offices and duties of a faithful pastor there, exhorting the people in the name of Jesus Christ, willingly to receive and acknowledge him as the minister of Christ, and to maintain and encourage him in the execution of his office, that he may be able to give up such an account to Christ of their obedience to his ministry, as may be to his joy and their everlasting comfort :—In witness whereof, we the Presbyters of the first classis in the county of Lancaster, have hereunto set our hands, this fifteenth day of April, Anno Domini 1647.—(Signed) Richard Heyrick, Edward Woolmer, John Harrison, William Walker, Tobie Furnace."

A few remarks may now be made on the surveillance which the Presbyterian discipline preserved over its ministers. It was ordered that all who preached within the classis, and were not members of it, should give an account of their call ; and that if any minister officiated in the assemblies without applying to a classis for its approbation, he should be admonished, and for his persistence be further proceeded against. Nor could this approbation be obtained if there existed any evil report

CHAPTER XIX.

ANNALS OF THE CHURCH OF MANCHESTER DURING ITS SUBORDINATION TO THE FIRST CLASSIS OF THE PRESBYTERIAN PROVINCE OF LANCASTER. A. D. 1646 TO 1660.

By Dr HIBBERT.

DURING the prevalence of the Presbyterian discipline in Lancashire, it will be found impossible to detach the history of the church of Manchester from that of the other churches included along with it in the first classical division of Lancashire. These were described to be Prestwich, Oldham, Flixton, Eccles, and Ashton-under-line. It may be also premised, that in the annals of this period so many important events are crowded, that, for the sake of better elucidation, it will be expedient to distribute them in a chronological order under distinct heads.

1. *The obstacles which the Presbyterian discipline very early encountered from the abuses which crept into its system, as well as from the joint opposition of the independents and of those who retained their attachment to the rites and tenets of the Episcopal church of England. A. D. 1646 to 1649.*

In entering upon this part of the history of the church of Manchester, it may be proper to take a glance at the previous state of civil and religious parties.

The royalists had begun to regard their cause with despair, and were only intent upon rescuing their property from avaricious committees of sequestration. Their unhappy sovereign, who had been in daily apprehension of seizure by the parliamentary army, had been induced to confide the care of his person to the Scottish forces then in England, by whom he was eventually betrayed.

The Catholics of Lancashire had altogether retired from the sphere of political and religious contest. By a needy Parliament they had been allowed to compound for their liberty of conscience, and as the royal hopes seemed irretrievably lost, they naturally felt little interest in more recent religious feuds, whence they found themselves excluded by the refusal even of Independents to make any concession to popery. From this time, therefore, they were permitted to enjoy a state of com-

parative tranquillity to which they had long been strangers. The forbearance, however, which the Presbyterians manifested towards them was at best but specious ; it disclaimed any nascent motive of liberality or conciliation, being suggested by the strenuous exertions which were demanded in a newer and unexpected field of combat, where heresies before unheard of, and equally appalling, were arrayed under the formidable banner of toleration and independence.

But owing to the vigilance exercised by Mr Heyrick, the independents were far less numerous in Manchester than in other parts of Lancashire. George Fox, the founder of the Quakers, had begun his ministry in this town, but was soon silenced. Mr Hollingworth also was anxiously employed in a renewed controversy with the two great champions of the independents, Master Samuel Eaton, and Master Timothy Taylor. His rejoinder was stated by him to have been written " for the satisfaction of all that sought the truth in love, and especially for his dearly beloved and longed for, the inhabitants in and near to Manchester."

It was, however, sufficiently alarming to know, that the doctrines of the independents had made considerable progress among the soldiers, and that they had been embraced by the forces raised in Lancashire. The Parliament had also begun to entertain a great distrust of the army, by whom republicanism, as well as religious toleration, had been espoused. But when they proposed its reduction or employment in Ireland, an open state of rebellion ensued. Representatives from each company were appointed under the title of *agitators*, who were soon in a state to give law to both houses. They demanded extravagant concessions, which were eventually made to them, and in this triumph acquired an ascendancy over the civil legislature.

The Parliament now found that the only chance of regaining its independence was to adjust the unhappy differences with their royal captive, in order that by an union of strength a gigantic power inimical to both might be stemmed, which in a vortex of republicanism and religious freedom threatened to overwhelm all ranks ecclesiastical and civil. The Scots saw the new situation of the country in the same light, and prepared to act upon it ; their indignation being farther roused by the contempt which had been expressed by the independents towards their favourite national covenant. A restitution, therefore, of the rights and authority of both king and Parliament became their watchword, and they invited the common support of the English Presbyterians and of the royalists. But from the differences of sentiment which prevailed among these parties the appeal was ineffective. One division of the Presbyterians, among whom Mr Heyrick ranged himself, conceived that it was far less injurious to the interests of their religion to promote the royal

cause, than by offering no resistance whatever to the independents, to open a flood-gate for the admission of a torrent of heresy. Another, the more rigid set, would give no assistance whatever to the king, unless he would consent to take the covenant. The royalists again paid little regard to religious differences, having simply in view the re-establishment of their monarch. Their only hesitation arose from the necessity of joining the ranks of their old and inveterate foes.

Such was the unsettled state of public feeling, which would have been instantly exchanged for prompt decision, if the king and Parliament had invited their respective adherents to unite in one common cause. But although the latter had begun to pay their sovereign a more than common deference, the fresh treaty which they opened with him, in order to compromise their unhappy differences, was most inconveniently prolonged.

In the meantime, the Duke of Hamilton, with an army of twenty thousand Scotsmen, penetrated into England as far as Lancashire. Here he expected to have been joined by many adherents ; but the public mind was hesitating, confused, and inactive. Cromwell met the Scottish army at Preston, completely routed it, and thus put an end to the royal cause and hopes.

From this period the Presbyterian discipline began to lose its stability. Complaints were made by the ministers of Lancashire that divers brethren had seceded from their church, and had set up ways which were dissonant to it ; and that along with a common hatred to reformation, and to the strictness which it imposed, much discouragement had been evinced towards their discipline by persons in places of power. The spirit which was thus excited first displayed itself upon the occasion of delegates being sent to the synod of Preston. A party of independents, among whom were probably the troops raised by the county, assembled and questioned the authority of the act upon which the synod was convened ; which act, as they alleged, was dated in 1645, and, having been for a term of three years only, had expired. The synod, however, with the intent of stifling these unfounded objections, made application to the Parliament for a confirmation of its ordinances, which in a summary manner, and without any limitation of time, was granted.

When the Presbyterians found that they were thus formidably opposed, they sought for as much protection from the laws as they could obtain. Accordingly, several of the ministers and elders of the Manchester classis made interest to be arrayed with civil as well as ecclesiastical power. The following individuals were then named as judges of their respective districts : Mr Heyrick, Mr Hollingworth, Mr Angier of Denton, and Mr Harrison of Ashton, ministers ; Robert Hyde, Robert Assheton, and Thomas Strangeways, Esquires.

The services which the Parliament had long continued to render to the Presbyterian church were now drawing to a close. Cromwell's revolutionary schemes were ripening; but in order to prepare the nation for the change, he had appointed a committee of his own partisans to draw up a document called **THE AGREEMENT OF THE PEOPLE**, to which the officers of the army, by way of probation, invited subscriptions. One professed design of the paper was to change the existing form of government into a kind of commonwealth, without a King or House of Lords. At this proposal Mr Heyrick loudly declaimed. He saw that with the downfall of the Parliament nothing could support the establishment of the Presbyterian discipline.—Another object which the promoters of "the agreement of the people" had in view, was to reduce the influence of the Presbyterian party by granting ample freedom to the profession of all religions, popery and prelacy excepted. They suggested that such as declared faith in God by Jesus Christ, however differing in judgment from the doctrine, discipline, and worship publicly held forth, should be protected in the profession of their faith and exercise of their religion according to their consciences, so that they abused not this liberty to the civil injury of others, or to the disturbance of the public peace. "We do not empower our representatives," they added, "to continue in force, or make any laws, oaths, or covenants, whereby to compel by penalties, or otherwise, any person to any thing, in or about matters of faith, religion, or God's worship." At this avowal Mr Heyrick's temper lost all bounds. He became most furious that all the damnable heresies, doctrines of devils, idolatrous superstitions, and the most abominable tenets that ever were broached or practised should be set at liberty in the kingdom, on no other condition but that the persons embracing them should profess their faith in God through Jesus Christ.

The effect of these revolutionary schemes was soon apparent. The ministers of Lancashire in vain denounced this assuming of liberty in religion, as the fruitful mother of all atheism, error and profaneness. They found that their enemies were beginning to have as little regard for the excommunications of elderships as for the bulls of the Pope. They were, therefore, willing to concede that their fulminations might with advantage be occasionally exchanged for mild expostulation. "Such as preach within our bounds," they observed, "who are unordained and disclaim classical power, may first be dealt with by conference, to refrain therein." But for this leniency they subsequently upbraided themselves. They expressed a conviction, that, as the want of a love to truth had been a wide inlet in many places to damnable heresies, so the want of a heart to use the church power which they

had acquired as a price for their exertions had laid them open to destructive disorder.

These were the difficulties with which the Presbyterian discipline of Lancashire was very early assailed from the opposition of the independents. Other obstacles even conspired against its reception, which, though less formidable at their commencement, became eventually effective by the unremitting perseverance of their operation. We may therefore now consider the opposition manifested towards the Presbyterian discipline by those who continued attached to the episcopal church of England.

This opposition was variously shown. Such ancient families of Lancashire as had ventured their lives and property in the defence of royalty entertained the greatest aversion towards the new church government. In the hopes of retaining the book of common prayer, they pleaded that certain privileged jurisdictions were exempt from the meaning of the act. But a special ordinance of Parliament soon overruled this objection. All churches were ordered to be brought within the Presbyterian government, the chapels of peers of the realm alone excepted; yet these last were commanded to celebrate the divine services according to the directory of the Westminster divines. And to leave no doubt upon the question in dispute, it was repeated that all the various congregations in Lancashire should be included in one ecclesiastical province.

Other efforts made were to retain the ceremonial observances that had been condemned by the Westminster divines. In the classical division of Bolton and Bury, a minister was summoned on a charge of kneeling down when first he came into the desk or pulpit, while another was arraigned for openly avowing his attachment to episcopacy, and his determination to retain the surplice and all other observances which were commanded in the book of common prayer.

The greatest discontent was likewise excited at the mode of solemnizing marriages, which was no longer before the altar or accompanied with the pledge of the ring, which had been hitherto considered essential to the contract. This meanness of ceremony was so ill relished, that many clandestine marriages were celebrated by unauthorized persons or ejected clergymen. In other instances, ministers who had regularly conformed to the Presbyterian discipline, yielded to the earnest supplications of their parishioners, by performing the rites as directed in the book of common prayer. For this transgression Mr Jones, the minister of the church of Eccles, and Mr Woolmer, the minister of Flixton, were severally called to account:—the former made a humble submission. At length it was ordered by the Man-

chester classis, that persons who had not been married publicly, or by their own ministers, should be summoned before the congregational elderships to show where, when, and by whom they had been married, with the view that they might free themselves from the suspicion of living in fornication. After this regulation had been published, many couples were summoned by the classical assembly of Manchester, and being denounced as illegally joined together, were charged to enter anew into more efficient bonds of wedlock,—such as were directed by the Presbyterian church. In one instance the classis met with a prompt refusal, which even proceeded from a woman. This heroine saw that a compliance with the order would be tantamount to the admission on her part, that she had hitherto lived in a state of guilty intercourse with the man whom she had accepted as a husband. With much pride, therefore, she refused to make such an unworthy avowal. Her mate, however, was more tamely inclined. He confessed himself in fault, and bowed to the rod. The assembly under these circumstances, did nothing more than record the affair after the following manner: “Agreed that William Hardy and his reputed wife are bound to consummate their marriage. She absolutely refuseth ever to marry him. Noted that they are guilty of fornication. He acknowledgeth it a great sin, but asserts she is his wife before God.”

The Presbyterian mode of performing the rites of baptism was no less disliked by those who were attached to the superseded ritual. They refused to hold up their children before the minister, and to be themselves the sole sponsors. They also still regarded with reverence the figured and carved font, to which the Presbyterians had the greatest abhorrence. The parish of Flixton, adjoining Manchester, was much attached to this ancient relic which subsisted in their church, and made an obstinate struggle to retain it; but the Manchester classis ordered it to be removed. In Prestwich, the schoolmaster of the village was in the greatest request for solemnizing baptisms, and occasionally marriages. For the sake of greater privacy, the time which he selected for this purpose was after sunset.

Such were the difficulties which the Presbyterian discipline encountered at its commencement, from the opposition of those who remained attached to the episcopal church of England. These difficulties were again increased by the early abuses which took place in the system itself, so as to give rise to numerous seceders.

In order to understand the origin and extent of these abuses, it is necessary to keep in view what has been before explained, namely, that the whole of the church discipline enforced by the Presbyterians was directed to one great and common object, which was to preserve the holy ordinances from being profaned by the presence of the ignorant and scandalous. When presbyteries, therefore, arrogated to them-

selves the privilege of determining to what description of offenders this imputation applied, their judgments were too often rendered subservient to the uncharitable or base purposes of party feeling. And thus the abuses which arose may be traced to the great latitude that was given to the interpretation of the terms *ignorant* and *scandalous*, which was soon found to sanction numerous unjustifiable proceedings, that were greatly hostile to the reception of Presbyterianism in Lancashire.

The term *ignorant* was generally used by presbyteries to signify such persons as could not in their view worthily partake of the Lord's supper, either from their obstinate rejection of all religious instruction whatever, or from their heresy, or opposition to the rule of faith prescribed by the assembly of divines. Among the last mentioned class were such individuals as were inclined to the less shackled principles of the independents, or who felt a lingering attachment to the book of common prayer. All these offenders were severally liable to the censures of admonition, suspension, or excommunication, according to the supposed magnitude of their various crimes.

Regarding the mode of trying persons charged with being ignorant, and therefore unworthy of receiving the divine ordinance, the greatest inquisitorial latitude was allowed. It was stated, that there was not one way only, but many ways which were warranted or described by the words of God, whereby elders might satisfy themselves of the sufficiency in point of knowledge of members seeking to be admitted to the Lord's supper; that it was not lawful to tie themselves to one way, when that one attained not the end, and another might probably succeed: and that the choice of the manner was left to the eldership. Nor was this all:—if a mere suspicion arose of the ignorance of any member of a congregation, he was liable to be brought up before an eldership, who might even try and confront one of its own members;—and no individual could refuse to be thus tried, on the defence that the eldership was in a party against him.

The consequences resulting from these strict proceedings might have been easily anticipated. Many members of congregations, on the plea of the inquisitorial ordeal through which they were required to pass, abstained from offering themselves to the elderships for admission to the holy ordinance. Others more openly professed themselves confirmed seceders. At length the ministers interfered:—they began to grow weary of seeing so many individuals brought to the tribunal of the church on trivial imputations of ignorance, and therefore exhorted such members of congregations as were discontented with their respective presbyteries, to refrain on this account from running into schism, but to walk with them so far as there was an agreement in judgment, or to endeavour to receive or give satisfaction when there was any practical difference. They also recommended, as a last

resource, that if all these attempts to come to a good understanding with elders should prove unsuccessful, complainants should prefer appealing for redress to classical and provincial assemblies, rather than wretchedly deprive themselves of the participation of so soul-feasting an ordinance as the Lord's supper.

These were the effects resulting from the too free interpretation of the term *ignorant*. The word *scandalous*, however, comprehended even a wider range of offences against the Presbyterian church. Several of these must have readily met with defenders, as where it was declared that the ordinary omission of the duties of religion, such as prayer and the like, jointly to be performed by a family, was scandalous in the government thereof; or that it was the duty of elderships to take notice of scandalous gamesters; or that sitting and drinking unnecessarily in an alehouse or tavern on the Lord's day was censurable. The moral turpitude, however, of other offences might be very fairly doubted. The Parliament, in its jealousy of the assembly of divines, had restricted the term *scandalous* to a limited number of offences;—but this was no restraint to the amplifications in which the synods of Lancashire indulged. All who had served in the cause of the king, as well as those who had directly or indirectly showed protection to the king's party, were stigmatised as delinquents in the late wars, who were liable to the censures of the church; nor could they be received to the Lord's supper without giving satisfaction to the eldership of their repentance. It was also proclaimed, that the voluntary entertaining of papists as servants or tailors was scandalous in a householder.

As an effect of these abuses, many individuals who had been opposed to the Presbyterians during the rebellion, but who during the suppression of the Episcopal churches might have been induced to come into the new discipline, were precluded on no other score than their malignancy, unless they chose to make a public acknowledgment of their error. Even the manner in which they were refused admission into the church had something in it most revolting to the feelings;—it was asked, whether malignants, having had their hands in blood, should be admitted to the Lord's supper without acknowledgment of their faults? When such was the insulting temper which the Presbyterians displayed towards those who had conscientiously risked their lives for a cause which they had conceived to be just, no wonder that the royalists should remain faithful to episcopacy even during all the adversities which it sustained.

Again,—in the zeal to discover ignorant and scandalous persons and to bring them to the tribunal of elderships, it was ordered that every Lord's day before the sacrament was administered notice should be given to congregations that every person who took offence at any public scandal given by any one who intended to be present at the Lord's supper should inform the eldership of the congregation to

which he belonged, who would duly examine the same ; and that if any elder heard *privately* of a scandal committed by a communicant, he should go to the party accused, and, if the charge were denied, bring the matter before the eldership. This invitation gave the greatest encouragement to private feelings of pique or malice. In Manchester, the classical assembly greatly compromised its own dignity, by listening, for several successive meetings, to the scurrilous nonsense and trifling which was vented forth in the course of a family quarrel between two brothers of the name of Taylor, one of whom was probably a collegian, as he was upbraided by his amiable kinsman that the Devil would make as good a professor. Great inconvenience being thus sustained from these malicious prosecutions, the ministers of Lancashire at length exhorted their respective congregations, not to let the notice which they took of offences be followed by an unbecoming publication of them, to the defamation and exasperation of the party, but rather to exercise pity, and, if the affair was light or attributable to some infirmity, to attempt the amendment by persuasion or instruction.

Other abuses which followed the setting up of the Presbyterian discipline in Lancashire resulted from bye-laws which militated against the higher ordinances of the two houses. The views of the Parliament, for instance, had limited convictions on charges of scandal to a date not exceeding twelve months. The synods, however, which were opposed to these lenient suppressions of very retrospective or distant accusations, declared that a fault committed above a year, yet remaining publicly scandalous in any person, might come within the compass of an eldership's cognizance. And with respect to church officers, the Manchester classis added, that the ordinances of Parliament did not take away the power of inquiring if elders were men of unblemished lives. The consequence of these extraneous regulations was, that very old grievances were ripped up, and that in the registers of each presbytery might be read all the idle gossiping stories of a town or village, which were accumulated to furnish grounds of exception against communicants in general, or against the eligibility of church officers.

There were again other difficulties which resulted from the conduct of elderships. When private members of congregations had found themselves liable to be brought before their several presbyteries, they naturally began to adopt measures of retaliation. Numerous accusations from unworthy motives of personal or political resentment were accordingly preferred against church officers, with the view of proving their insufficiency. In the second classical division of Lancashire, wherein the parish of Bury was included, various charges were preferred against such elders or ministers as were suspected of cavalierism, and had come in contrary to the minds of those that were reputed godly. They were accused, for instance, of

being present at horse races, or at ale-feasts where there was fiddling, bowling, or tippling going on. One church officer was charged with the neglect of singing psalms in his family, and with swearing by his faith. Another was accused of being present at an ale-feast on the day when the parliamentary forces were attacking Warrington ; of entertaining cavaliers ; of affirming that the Parliament was a body without a head ; of appealing to the authority of Scripture in support of the royal cause, and of never having publicly manifested any sorrow for his malignancy. These accusations, which were preferred by parliamentarians, were again followed by recriminations from the opposite side, many of which were equally unjustifiable, and often ill founded. In the parish of Prestwich, for instance, which was torn by religious and political factions, the royalist party turned upon their adversaries, and fixed upon the minister of the village, Mr Furnace, who was naturally obnoxious to them from his ardent attachment to the Presbyterian cause. He was accused of arbitrarily refusing to perform the rites of baptism, in refutation of which he showed that where hesitation had been evinced, the conditions prescribed by the directory that the father should himself hold up the child in his arms, and thus be his own sponsor, had been refused. A further charge instituted by his opponents was for refusing to administer the Lord's supper ; but this he explained by proofs that the complainant had been rejected by a general censure of the Presbytery, and that under these circumstances he could not be received as a communicant. The minister's private moral conduct was even attacked. He was charged with falling from his horse in a state of intoxication. A cloud of witnesses was, however, summoned to prove, that his habits were those of great temperance, and that in the instance adduced, he had owed the accident of his overthrow to riding upon a wild and unbroken colt. This last accusation, which in a civil court would have been instantly dismissed as an idle slander, occupied the assembly no less than four sittings, so anxious were they to completely vindicate the character of one of the most exemplary of their brethren. The class eventually allowed him to exchange his church in Prestwich for that of Bury, accompanying the sanction with a prayer, that God would bless him in his removal.

Such were the mutual revilings and accusations which were convulsing almost every town and village in Lancashire. In the district of Manchester the classical assembly was employed for several months in hearing appeals for and against the ministers and elders who had been chosen. Oldham, Flixton, Chorlton, and Didsbury, were from this cause particularly disturbed. Many elders were again most unwilling to enter upon offices which rendered their conduct so liable, from inducements of mutual recrimination, to be narrowly scrutinized. At length the ministers of Lancashire began to be generally alarmed for the many complaints of scandalousness

that were cast upon church officers, which often took place without any regular prosecutions being instituted. In recommending, therefore, a forbearance of such smittings with the tongue, which were opposed to the double law of justice and charity, they expressed an opinion, that, unless these abuses were removed, it would be in vain to attempt setting up their church government. "And here," said they, "as there are said to be some that murmur against certain of the communicants in the several congregations, as if they were visibly unworthy of the Lord's supper, we desire that such complainers would rather apply themselves to their duty of private admonitions, and public information and proof thereof before the elderships respectively, and not uncharitably charge either an unworthiness upon a party, or a misadministration upon an eldership before a due conviction thereof be made."

Lastly, the ceremony of baptism, by which infants were received into the church of Christ, had opposed to it no fewer obstacles than those of communion. A question very early started was, "whether the children of any parent lying under the imputation of ignorance or scandal, yet being not cast out of the church, ought to be denied baptism." It was resolved in the negative; but the reply not giving satisfaction, a second question proposed was, "whether the children of grossly ignorant and scandalous parents, such as be known to be, as also of Papists and ex-communicants, as also bastard children, might be baptised?" One part of the query, after much discussion, was thus determined: "Resolved upon the question, that a child born of Papist parents, presented to baptism by a person or persons of the Protestant faith amongst us, the said parents undertaking the education of the child in the said faith, and the parents or those who are interested in the child's bringing up consenting to the said undertakers so educating the child, may be baptised in our churches." The other clauses, which related to the children of ignorant and scandalous persons and to illegitimate children, did not meet with a reply. But we are informed that the general practice in such cases was to refuse the rites of baptism.

When the administration of baptism was attended with such difficulties, we cease to wonder that clandestine christenings should abound. The ejected clergy of the episcopal church of England, as well as the ministers who officiated for the independents, were always invited to render their services in cases of hardship; and even some few regular ministers among the Presbyterians could not on all occasions preserve their inflexibility, though at the risk of incurring the censure of their respective elderships.

But we have now to consider new political convulsions which exercised a material influence on the Presbyterian government of Lancashire.

The design of Cromwell was at this time beginning to be developed. It was to effect such a radical change in the constitution of the Parliament, as would obtain for the independents who held seats in it a superiority of votes. Taking advantage, therefore, of Hamilton's defeat, he reproached the two chambers with the blood which had been shed during the war, and under the pretext of appeasing the indignation of the country, charged the House of Commons to form itself into what was named a *self-denying committee*, whereby the members were severally covenanted, with the exception of a chosen few, to exclude themselves from any civil or military employment. Many individuals of the Presbyterian party were afterwards imprisoned, while the whole found themselves prevented from taking any share in the government of the country. The greatest discontent at these measures ensued, and the Peers withdrew from their stations in disgust.

Finally, the agitators represented the King as a traitor ready to sacrifice to any particular interest the safety of his country. A council of officers prepared an accusation against him, and to the malignity of his republican enemies the unfortunate monarch yielded up his life at the scaffold.

At this horrible event, Royalists, Papists, and Presbyterians were alike confounded.

Immediately after the news had arrived of the death of the King, the ministers of Lancashire, in great trouble and dismay, assembled; and in a pastoral address to their congregations took a general survey of the events of the times; and of the difficulties under which their church laboured. They pointed out what were the several duties of private members of congregations and of church officers. They also described with eloquence the various causes of the defalcation which had taken place from the new discipline, and stated that the greatest defects which remained were in the practice of it, owing to the unfitness, unsettledness, averseness and remissness of men's spirits in relation to it, which was the great obstruction. This obstruction they again attributed to man's corruption and Satan's malice, the effects of which were displayed in various ways, as by raising and keeping up of differences in judgment with hot and doubtful disputes concerning the government of the church, and unworthy aspersions and contempt cast upon it. They next urged that discipline was a divine command; that its objects were all the blessings and duties which the Scriptures taught; that its enemies were ignorance, error, and iniquity; and that the evil fruits of it were depicted in the distractions which then prevailed. These they described after the following manner: "The miserable disorders, errors and offences, which, like a flood, have broken out, continued, and risen to so great a height among us, to the high dishonour of the name of God and to the great hinderance and shame of the Gospel, the trampling also of the holy

things, and precious pearls thereof under the feet of dogs and swine, the subversion of many souls with the vexation of others, the disturbance of our churches' peace, together with the creating of many walls of partition betwixt brethren, the decay and discouragement of the power of godliness, the opening of the reproachful mouths of the enemies of religion, and the advancement of Satan's seat amongst us,—these, these, O brethren, are the deplorable fruits of the want of this discipline, which, but to mention, may make all pious ears to tingle !”

But the conclusion of the address was still more impressive ; it was intended to prepare the members of the Presbyterian church for the dangers with which they were menaced from the republican faction : “ And seeing most perilous times are come upon us, wherein our churches' peace is opposed and assaulted by all ways both of subtilty and power, we earnestly exhort and warn you all, that, with exquisite heed and resolute steadfastness, ye discern and resist all those that would seek to seduce you either into errors or division, contrary to that sound doctrine and safe fellowship which ye have embraced in your own churches ; that with accurate circumspection you keep yourselves from the common and reigning sins of these times ; that ye stand fast to our solemn league and covenant in all the branches of it, and specially in those that contain the great and much hazarded public interests of religion, civil government and brotherly union, not suffering yourselves to be drawn aside to any new inventions to the subverting of any of them ; and that ye walk in the old path, and good way of the infallible Scriptures, and avoid such courses as have but the warrant of pretended good intentions, urgent necessity, or misinterpreted providence coined for them !—And if it be the will of God that you must suffer for denying to be in a confederacy to such ways, or for well-doing, be not afraid of men's terror, neither be troubled nor ashamed ; but sanctify the Lord God in your hearts, rejoice, count yourselves happy, glorify God on this behalf, and commit the keeping of your souls to Him in well-doing, as unto a faithful Creator !”

The difficulties under which the Presbyterian church laboured at its onset have at length been described. We have traced the internal abuses which crept into its system of government, and have observed the early enmity which was evinced to it by those who remained attached to the episcopal church of England. But it has been shown that the most serious of all obstacles was the opposition of the Independents, which was the more formidable, inasmuch as this sect eventually became the strongest political party, whereby the Presbyterian church lost all the civil support and countenance which it had hitherto enjoyed.

2. *The Embarrassments under which the Presbyterian Church laboured from its loss of Parliamentary support.*—A. D. 1649.

For several weeks after the atrocious schemes of the revolutionists had been developed and executed, a sort of panic pervaded most classes of society. Declaimers from the pulpit announced that the fiercest vial of God's wrath was poured out in judgment for the sins of the people, and supernatural omens were sought for with avidity to prove that the great day of the Lord was at hand. In Manchester the phenomenon of three parhelions of the sun, which appeared soon after the death of the king, caused the deepest dismay. The inhabitants hastily flocked together in the market-place, where the stoutest hearts were observed to tremble.^o

This feverish state of the public mind in Lancashire was likewise heightened by other afflictions. The summer preceding the king's death had been distinguished by heavier rains than had been before remembered, owing to which cause the crops had been much destroyed ;^p and to augment the efficiency of this cause of famine, the distractions of the country had materially interrupted the labours of the husbandman. This general privation of adequate food and nourishment had again contributed to add to the virulence of a pestilential fever. To avert so great an accumulation of public calamities, a petition to the classical assembly of Manchester was signed by such of the inhabitants as remained well affected to the Presbyterian cause, to request that a solemn day of humiliation might be held by the congregations of the town and neighbourhood.^q This fast was soon afterwards succeeded by a more general one, which was commanded by the synod that represented the whole of the presbyteries of the county.^r

^o Mr Hollingworth has particularly noticed this event. "On the 24th of February 1649," says this writer, "there was observed by hundreds of people in the market-place three parhelions about ten of the clock before noon, which vanished away one after another, so that at eleven of the clock none were seen.—I saw two of them myself."

^p So great was the rain of July 1648 at Manchester, that the swollen state of the river prevented for several days all communication with the adjoining township of Chorlton. Mr Hollingworth records that "there was a sudden and terrible rain on the Lord's day, which in two hours space filled the cellars in the market-place, and that these channels ran down the streets like large rivers, so as to be able in some places to bear a large vessel."

^q The reply to the petition presented to the classical assembly held in Manchester on the 30th day of March 1649 was thus recorded: "Agreed that there be a solemn day of humiliation to be kept in Manchester upon the grounds and reasons in a petition presented to us by some of the well affected in Manchester."

^r The following notice was ordered to be published among the various congregations of Lan-

Several weeks indeed transpired before Lancashire was fairly recovered from the shock, which, in common with most other counties of the kingdom, it had experienced. The sects which stood opposed to the Presbyterian church were then inclined to renew hostilities under more favourable auspices. They began to doubt whether the new discipline had any material civil support, and hastened to take advantage of its apparent instability.

The persevering opposition of the Independents was, however, the most formidable. Under the protection of this specious name, still newer, and even more appalling heresies had sprung up, which had but too readily recommended themselves to the fanaticism of the times. The Millenarians demanded that the civil government of the realm should be instantly abolished preparatory to the expected reign of Christ upon the earth. The elect were guided by principles superior to the grovelling obligations of law and the force of moral engagements; while the levellers were for an equal distribution of the whole of the property of the kingdom. As the crude doctrines entertained by these multifarious sects had sheltered themselves under the free and unshackled profession of republicanism and toleration, which had been recommended by the subscribers of *THE AGREEMENT OF THE PEOPLE*, the ministers of Lancashire resolved upon a reply to the principles contained in this national document. The task of combating them was assigned to Mr Heyrick and Mr Hollingworth, and it could not have been confided to more willing disputants. The answer was promptly drawn up and was printed under the sanction of the leading Presbyterian ministers of Lancashire, being signed by "Richard Heyrick, warden of Christ's College, Manchester;" by "Richard Hollingworth, fellow of the said college;" by "William Walker, minister there;" and by fifty-two pastors of other congregations. The title-page of the reply set forth that it was published by the ministers of the county, "for the satisfaction of the conscience and guiding of the practice of their entirely honoured and beloved the people of the several churches committed to their charge, and for the general good of the church and nation."

In their answer the Lancashire ministers proposed to unfold the whole of the plot and ultimate design of the Independents, and to deliver their sentiments

cashire. "In consideration of the heavy judgment of God lying upon this county by famine and also by pestilence in some parts thereof, and in regard of other troubles and dangers upon us, it is judged necessary, and accordingly ordered, that a public fast be observed in every congregation within this province, with solemn and earnest seeking unto God for the averting of the said judgments and evils. And this is to be on the fourth Tuesday in this instant month of May."

upon the proposed changes in the political and religious establishments of the country. With regard to the expediency of any alteration in the civil government, it was replied that the people already enjoyed a constitutional legislature, which was good, wholesome, and equitable ; that they were bound to it by the duty of subjects, and the sacred obligation of oaths and covenants ; and that for this reason there was no occasion for the abolition of the old model, and the setting up of one that was new. They next asked, in reference to the projected act of toleration, if all the penal laws of the land and all the judicial proceedings which had been instituted since the time of the reformation against seminary priests, jesuits, and papists, or any other body of people justly suffering in matters of religion, would not be thereby aspersed as acts of the highest injustice, being against the fundamentals of common right, freedom, and safety ? “ Will not this liberty,” they added, “ when reduced to practice, be in danger not only of defacing, defiling, rending and crumbling to nothing our churches, but even of filling the kingdom full of factions and tumults, and of tending to the overthrow of the magistrates’ power in civil affairs ? And when men have once got head and immunity in the things of God, will they not proceed to introduce a lawlessness and impunity in humane interests ?”

The ministers then entered upon the task of passing a censure upon each of their opponents’ propositions. The agreement of the people, for instance, had contented itself with simply expressing a recommendation that the Christian religion should be publicly professed, and a wish that it might be reformed to the greatest purity in doctrine, worship, and discipline. But, in reply, a strong objection was made to the use of the term *recommend*, and it was demanded,—why the Christian religion should not rather be enjoined and enforced ? It was also argued, that an efficient reformation implied, that the power of suppressing false doctrines and the exercise of a false religion should be vested in the civil magistrate. Secondly, in answer to the hope entertained by the Independents, that the Christian religion might only prevail by sound doctrine and the example of a good conscience, provided always that there was no avowal of popery, the ministers exultingly asked,—“ And why are other religious professions to be excluded which are as bad as the worst forms of popery, and ten times worse than prelacy, such as the doctrines of the Antiscripturists, Antitrinitarians, Arians, or Pelagians ?—” Thirdly, when it was urged that the public instruction of the nation in matters of faith, worship, or discipline, ought to be provided for by the representatives of the people, though conditionally that it was not compulsive, or enforced by penalties or other coercive means, it was answered, that compulsion was a ne-

cessary course ; otherwise, men would become atheists, recusants, blasphemers, or what they were inclined to be, and that no man would dare to say,—“ what dost thou ?” It was therefore conceived, that, compared with this proposed act of toleration, “ this most horrible sting ! the King’s book of sports was at the most but small gnats.”

The ministers lastly endeavoured, from special words of holy writ, to prove the sinfulness of toleration. To the Old Testament, and “ to the approved and binding examples of God and of godly magistrates,” they made a triumphant appeal. With the New Testament, however, they admitted that they were somewhat perplexed. But all their difficulties were easily removed by a very convenient principle of expounding adopted by them, which was not to distinguish or to limit the sense of Scripture when the Holy Ghost had not judged such a precaution to be necessary. To this esteemed rule of interpreting they professed that they must needs hold.

While this controversy was going on, the Presbyterians became exposed to the renewed attacks of their early enemies. The adherents of the Episcopal Church of England, in particular, began to be more united in their opposition ; and as the leaders of them were individuals of rank, they gave great offence by their disdainful carriage, which was complained of as manifesting neutrality, discountenance, or even prohibition. The ministers also expressed their belief, that their church had been visited with all its various evils for the too great compliance which they had formerly shown with the misproceedings of prelatical usurpation ; and that this judgment ought to serve with them as a caveat for the future to be faithful in all their disciplinarian duties, whatsoever sort of men might hereafter rise in opposition against them. They therefore exhorted the several presbyteries of the county to allow no discouragement from any disaffected party to weaken their hands in the work ; expressing at the same time their fear, that there would be more difficulty in the carrying on of the Presbyterian discipline than there had ever been in the completion of it ; and that, from this cause, it was possible that some men might languish and so refrain from acting, or might stand aloof and blame the godly forwardness of others. But they expressed their ultimate hope, that the zeal, courage, and resolution of such persons as were acted upon by principles of conscience and spiritual interest would, under such circumstances, be only the more increased.

These appeals, however, proved ineffective. So great was the popular attachment, on the one hand, to the superseded forms and tenets of the book of common

prayer, and, on the other hand, to the free and unfettered principles of newer sects, that the presbyteries of Lancashire found it impossible to protect their churches from the intrusion of such unauthorized or unordained ministers, as the disaffected had set up in opposition to their discipline. In the Manchester district, for instance, the adherents of the episcopal church of England had selected the village of Prestwich as the most suitable place for the concentration of their strength, and had supported the schoolmaster of the parish, Mr Birch, in the contempt which he continued to manifest to the warnings of judicial elderships. He was at length cited before the classical assembly of Manchester, by virtue of a law which prohibited any one without official approbation from exercising ministerial functions. The defendant produced testimony to show, that, under the episcopal church-government, he had been appointed a deacon, but his actual letters of ordination having been demanded, and these being not forthcoming, he was declared to be in every respect an unqualified minister. This interdict he little regarded; persevering, therefore, in his opposition, the classical assembly issued out the following warrant, which was formally read before the congregation of Prestwich: "Forasmuch as Mr Birch, schoolmaster of Prestwich, is not approved by this classis for the exercising of any part of the ministerial function within these bounds, and hath been heretofore admonished for baptizing of children, yet hath contemned their order; and as his offence herein is further aggravated by his baptizing in private, contrary to the directory, which hath been proved before them by oath, and by his having also been divers times summoned to appear before this classis, to whom he hath refused to make due appearance;—these are therefore publicly to give notice to the congregation of Prestwich, that the said Mr Birch is prohibited by this classis to baptize any children, either publicly or privately, or to exercise any other part of the ministerial function.—And these are further to give notice to the said Mr Birch, to appear before this classis at the next meeting at Manchester, the fifth day of May: or otherwise, they must proceed to the further censure of him for his several contempts, and making clandestine marriages, whereof there are complaints made unto us."—This warrant still proving unsuccessful, the classical assembly felt disposed to try the full effect of the power with which they had been arrayed by the Presbyterian parliament, and, as a preliminary step, passed the following resolution: "Mr Birch, schoolmaster, having been formerly admonished for making clandestine marriages and private baptizing of children, and having, notwithstanding, since his admonition, offended herein contrary to the directory, it is ordered, that the said Mr Birch be from henceforth inhibited from the exercise of all ministerial offices within the bounds

of this classis of Manchester, and it is ordered, that this inhibition be published in the congregation of Prestwich."—This last warning appears to have been effective.

But Prestwich was not the only place in the district of Manchester where resistance was offered to the authority of elderships. Mr Woolmer, the regular Presbyterian minister of Flixton, yielded to the solicitations of such members of his congregation as were anxious to have the rites of marriage or baptism performed according to the mode prescribed in the book of common prayer. For this offence a warrant was issued out against him, to which he yielded a reluctant submission.

Attempts were also made at this time to introduce into the vacant churches divers ejected ministers of the church of England, with whom the taking of the national covenant, whereby episcopacy was abjured, had proved the greatest obstacle to their entering into the Presbyterian communion. In the district of Manchester, an effort to evade this test, which had been very early made by the congregation of Oldham in favour of Mr Isaac Allen, a minister of great learning, and a well known royalist, met with a complete failure. Subsequently, however, upon another occasion, when Mr Furnace had forsaken the parish of Prestwich, and Mr Birch had been silenced, the Episcopalians of this vicinity followed the example of Oldham, by presenting a request to the classical assembly, that Mr Allen might be their pastor. This was opposed by a counter-petition from the Presbyterian party belonging to the parish. A hearing took place, when the following answer was returned: "That until Mr Allen give satisfaction concerning his taking the national covenant, and do either clear himself to be free from malignancies, or give such satisfaction on that point as the classis shall think meet for the removal of the scandal he lies under in that respect, and shall, moreover, testify his readiness to concur in the present church government, they cannot give way to the approval of him as the pastor of the church of Prestwich." These terms were instantly rejected. Mr Allen's supporters were not, however, to be thus subdued. Their importunity increasing, the classis declined to hold any conference with the object of their choice, but sent a deputation of ministers to remonstrate with the discontented. They also endeavoured, in opposition to the majority of the congregation, to introduce a Presbyterian minister among them of their own, but ultimately without effect. From this period, therefore, the church of Prestwich continued in open rebellion against the decrees of controlling elderships.

But besides the opposition of the Independents and of the Episcopalians, the

Presbyterians had to contend against intestine divisions. A party in their own church had sprung up, who were indignant at the tyrannical and inquisitorial conduct exercised by elderships, under the colour of protecting the sacraments from being profaned by the presence of the ignorant and scandalous. They therefore became impatient for a more free invitation to the Lord's table, and published their intention to withdraw themselves from the communion until more liberal sentiments were embraced. The second classical assembly of Lancashire held at Bury met this threat, by proposing as a question, whether the neglect of duty, (that is, of attending the sacrament,) under pretence of religious scruple, or in a plain way of profaneness, was the most dangerous? They also passed a resolution, that in case a person, after due care had been taken for his satisfaction, either could not or would not be satisfied in that which concerned the quiet and good of the whole congregation, he ought not to disturb the whole church for his own private scruple; but if, on this account, he persist in being disobedient, or in contemning and speaking evil of his governors, and so hazard the setting on foot of factions and divisions in the congregation, he ought to be proceeded against as a disorderly walker.

In Oldham, however, a communion on professed tolerant principles was actually attempted. This was chiefly owing to the exertions of a Mr John Lake, who having been elected by the congregation of this parish as their pastor, had disclaimed the sanction of the classical assembly of Manchester. Thus introduced, he resolved to act in defiance of a law which rendered a minister liable to the censure of admonition, and upon persistence to suspension, for an administration of the Lord's Supper, independently of the concurrence of the congregational Presbytery to which he belonged. Accordingly, Mr Lake, upon his individual responsibility, offered a free admission to the sacrament to all who had at any time given satisfaction of a good life and conversation, and of their acquaintance with the institutes of Christianity; and he further stated, that after this preliminary condition had been complied with, the sanction of an eldership upon each occasion of communion was unnecessary. This invitation having been given, the first succeeding Sabbath was set apart for the celebration of the Lord's Supper. Flaggons of wine were spread upon the table, yet few ventured on the experiment of openly braving the censures of the church. Mr Lake therefore further explained his object by stating, that, forasmuch as he had given warning for persons to be examined before they were admitted to the sacrament, his intent was only regarding young people who had not previously received the holy ordinance, and of strangers who were not of his congregation; and he desired that

such as kept away from a mistaken notion of his views would appear the next Sabbath and communicate with him, for that he stood not each time upon the usual formality of examination. When tidings of this open contempt of the authority of elderships was reported to the classical assembly of Manchester, the greatest indignation was excited. But a doubt having been expressed of the prudence of resorting at once to coercive measures, a trial was, in the first place, made of the effect of expostulation. The following letter was accordingly addressed to the offender: "Sir,—It being evident to us that you do officiate within this classis without approbation obtained or sought, and you having disclosed that your resolution is to administer the supper of the Lord with the professed neglect of the eldership chosen and constituted in that congregation, and by your solitary power will admit to and suspend from the supper,—we being very sensible of your irregular walking herein to the rule of the word and express command of the civil authority, do, in tender respect to the glory of God, the purity of the ordinance, and good of the people, entreat and require you to forbear the further administration of the supper, and to entertain a brotherly conference with us, according to the motion we made to you, though at present refused by you, that we may, through the blessing of God, satisfy the scruples that hinder your orderly and regular acting with us both in the congregation and classes. Thus persuading ourselves of your Christian and brotherly carriage in the particulars mentioned, we commit you to God, and rest your subscribed in the name and by the authority of the classis, James Walton, Moderator."—To these mild demands Mr Lake, perhaps unbecomingly, paid little attention. He merely engaged to lay before the meeting certificates of the soundness of his doctrine, which promise he never performed.

These several examples of the formidable opposition excited against the Presbyterian discipline, are sufficient illustrations of the embarrassments under which it laboured, after it had lost the influence of its Parliamentary support. With the view of correcting the unsettled state of the public mind on the subject of religion, and of advocating the superior pretensions of Presbyterianism over prelacy and the multifarious systems of the Independents, Mr Hollingworth took up his pen. He published a popular work, entitled "The main points of Church-government and Discipline plainly and modestly handled by way of question and answer; being useful to such as either want money to buy, or leisure to read, larger tracts." While the author of this little treatise endeavoured to explain, in a familiar manner, the leading institutes of the Presbyterian discipline, he was equally solicitous to

depreciate the tenets of opposite sects. In censuring the Independents, he denounced the doctrine which was urged that their way was purer than that of other men, and that we ought not to oppose them ; for that, if their work was of God, it would stand, and if of men it would come to nought. " It might as well," remarked Mr Hollingworth, " be said of prelacy and malignancy as of independency, that, if they be of God, they will stand, and, if not, they will come to nought ; and that, therefore, we ought to refrain from them, and let them alone and not oppose them." The writer then directed his artillery, loaded with scurrilous abuse, against prelacy. " The prelates," he added, " urged subscription, ceremonies, and had their chancellors, surrogates, &c. ; they were expensive and oppressive by exactions of fees ; they promoted tyranny, popery, and arbitrary government ; they suffered idle, ignorant, profane, Popish, Arminian, and Socinian ministers, which the Presbyterian government, where it is in full strength as in Scotland, doth not." He then contrasted after the following manner the several professions of Episcopacy, Independency, and Presbyterianism : " In Episcopacy, how many of the divines were infected with Arminianism, Socinianism, and Popery itself ; some ceremonial men turning Papists. For the Independents, how many of their way turned into antimonians, anabaptists, seekers, familists, quakers, ranters, &c. And for Presbytery, it hath not yet been observed to breed any such noisome weeds where it hath been established, and it is not the nourisher of Popery." Mr Hollingworth lastly urged, that, " while the prelatical government gave power to one minister in a diocese, and the independent government to the people, the middle was the right way, which consisted of ministers who were chosen by the people, and who did represent the people." This very intolerant publication appeared to suit the prevailing taste of the congregations to whom it was addressed, and in particular was highly commended by the famous Christopher Love.

Such was the disturbed state of the Presbyterian discipline. During this commotion a question was asked by the elderships of Lancashire,—what line of conduct ought to be adopted when secessions took place of entire churches ? Mr Hollingworth, in examining this question, conceived, " that elders could not judge authoritatively nor excommunicate one or more offending churches, but that they could only themselves withdraw communion from them." In another portion of his work, however, he contradicted himself by urging, " that elders might put forth any act of power and authority over other churches." Amidst this confusion, therefore, and obscurity of opinions, the classical assembly of Manchester was naturally irresolute, and no decided step against entire congregations was

proposed to be taken. It was simply announced, that all scandalous persons who did not offer themselves to the sacrament should be dealt with by their several classes with the censures of admonition and suspension, in order to excommunication upon their contempt.

3. The opposition which the Presbyterian Discipline encountered from the Republican Parliament.—A. D. 1649 to 1651.

The embarrassments under which the Presbyterian church laboured, great as they were, continued to multiply. The most decided opposition to the new discipline was manifested by the republicans, who had seized upon the reins of government, the leaders of whom formed a Parliament, if an assembly of this description was entitled to such a name, which consisted of the residue of the House of Commons, after the great majority of the members had been excluded from it, or had voluntarily retired. This faction shortly afterwards added to its number a few other individuals, upon whom reliance could be placed for giving their support to the death of the king. The whole did not exceed sixty or seventy individuals, who soon displayed their true character as demagogues and tyrants.

At the bad faith of their associates, the Presbyterians of England expressed the deepest resentment. They had lost all hopes of restoring, by means of the royal co-operation, the independence of Parliament, and to this feeling of disappointment succeeded a nascent attachment to the son of their late illustrious and fallen foe. The sentiments of reviving loyalty which had thus been cherished were further stimulated by certain important events that were taking place elsewhere. To these it will be expedient to turn our first attention.

After the defeat of Hamilton and Montrose, the authority of Scotland had fallen into the hands of Argyle and the rigid clergy who had been the most opposed to the late king. The revolutionary leaders of London invited this party to sanction their schemes by giving a republican form to the general government of the country. But as the doctrines of the Independents were fully as odious to the Presbyterians of the North as to those of England, an excuse was made, that, as the tenures of all the lands of Scotland acknowledged a superiority to a liege sovereign, the abolition of royalty would be impracticable. Upon this plea, an intention was openly professed to proclaim the son of the late monarch, though upon the condition that he would preserve a wise conduct, and that he would take the national covenant. The consent of the pliant prince to this proposal was considered as a great triumph over the malignants in all parts of the kingdom, and

when the intelligence of this event arrived in Lancashire, nothing could exceed the exultation of the Presbyterians. The militia of the county, which was composed of Independents and Republicans, endeavoured to stifle these ebullitions. They insulted, and even threatened, the synod of presbyteries which had at this time assembled in Preston, so that it was with some difficulty that the members of it were enabled to arrive safely at their respective homes. Upon their return mutual congratulations ensued, which were heightened by the circumstance, that a kindly spring had succeeded to the severe season which had produced throughout Lancashire a general state of famine; that an abundant supply of corn had been received from foreign parts; and that a malignant fever which had raged in various parts of the kingdom had subsided. For these causes of rejoicing, the classical assembly of Manchester commanded throughout the various churches of its district a day of public thanksgiving.*

When the republican leaders had fully estimated the extent of the opposition expressed to their government by the Presbyterians of England, they sought in various ways to disarm its force. But they conceived that success would be the best attained by putting in execution a recommendation which they had suggested in the paper to which they had invited subscriptions, named *THE AGREEMENT OF THE PEOPLE*. In this national document, they had urged that the maintaining of able teachers for religious instruction, and for the discovery of heresy, error, and whatsoever was contrary to sound doctrine, ought to be provided for out of the public treasury, and that it ought not to take place by means of tithes. The levellers, however, who had started up after the death of the king, advocated still more sweeping doctrines. They proposed an utter annihilation of every distinction which was calculated to advance their spiritual teachers a single step beyond the vulgar mass of the people; hence, an university education, which had been usually considered as a qualification for the pulpit, was denounced by them as useless, while all clerical functions were condemned as favouring popery. They even meditated a revival of the Mosaic laws, yet, with a singular contradiction, were clamorous for the suppression of tithes as a remnant of Judaism. Their arguments, however, readily came home to the business and bosoms of many worldly-minded parishioners of Manchester, who were inclined to act upon the sugges-

* The following order appears in the minutes of the Manchester Classis: "Ordered on the 21st of June, (1649,) a thanksgiving for the supply of corn, for the seasonableness of the weather, the safe and free return of our ministers; the late seasonable triumph God has given our brethren in Scotland against the malignants there, and for preserving these parts from infection, and the preventing the raging of it in places where it is."

tion, and hesitated to pay the Collegiate Church its ancient exactions. Even many conscientious men were inclined to think that, after the abolition of episcopacy, tithes were no longer the due of the clergy. The replies which were made to these objections by the warden and his colleagues were various. Mr Heyrick modestly answered, that he did not insist upon the levy of tithes, but that he was prepared to suffer from the opposition to them which was excited. Mr Hollingworth gave his opinion in favour of a settled and independent maintenance for the clergy, and even added that his means would be greater were tithes abolished ; yet, with an inconsistency of sentiment which is inexplicable, he published the following arguments for the satisfaction, as he professed, not of the covetous, but of the conscientious : Tithes, as he urged, were not an imposition upon the people, and it was a sacrilege to devour that which was holy or devoted to the service of God and the church ; it was a disannulling of the testament of men when it was confirmed by donors, or by testators, or by acts of Parliament ; and the crime wilfully incurred those direful execrations which were usually pronounced against church-robbers.

Another subject of contention was the question, whether, as a measure of expediency, the church of Manchester ought to continue in the enjoyment of its proper revenues resulting from the estates of the college ? The sects who were disaffected towards the Presbyterian discipline had long observed with disappointment that the late Parliament, in consideration of the esteem in which Mr Heyrick's public services were held, had confirmed him in the possession of the ancient endowments of his living, though at a time when most of the other church lands of the kingdom had been confiscated to the use of the state. But vexation at this partiality gave way to joyful emotions, when, in consequence of the setting up of the republican government, an alienation of the estates of the Manchester College seemed inevitable. At this time many of the leases granted by the warden and chapter had nearly expired ; the tenants, therefore, either hesitated to pay new fines upon charters, the validity of which seemed very precarious, or refused to discharge the rents for which they had been legally pledged. This state of anarchy certainly contributed to accelerate the expected act of confiscation, as it formed a pretext for the interference of the republican government, which was eager to seize every undue advantage of the occasion ; and as immense sums of money were wanted for the subsistence of the army, which, under the command of Cromwell, had sailed for Ireland, sequestrators were appointed to take possession of such of the church-lands of Lancashire as had remained unconfis-

ated, the revenues of which were ordered to be devoted to the use of the state. Lastly, with the view of giving popularity to this measure, tithes were abolished.

The same sequestrators were also empowered to condemn the property of such individuals as were in open revolt against the republican government. The Presbyterians of Manchester, in their great alarm at the threat, declared that the hand of God had fully gone out against them, which was evinced by other divine judgments, such as the general sickness which then prevailed, and the appearances which betokened another year of famine. These natural visitations of Providence were, however, soon dispelled; the public distress, from political causes alone, remaining.¹

The names of the Lancashire gentry who composed the committee of sequestration appointed by the republican Parliament were as follows:—Mr Robert Maudsley, Mr Richard Standish, Mr Peter Holt, Mr James Ashton, Mr Alexander Earle, Mr Joseph Hartley, Mr Thomas Birch, Mr Gilbert Irlam, Mr Joseph Aderne, Mr Thomas Cockham, Mr Robert Clough, and Mr Edmund Hopwood.

To this formidable court the Presbyteries of the district of Manchester were compelled to pay a humble, though most reluctant, deference. For instance, in the case of a Mr George Thomson, whose appointment to the ministry of Ellinbrook was sanctioned by the classis, a respectful desire was expressed that he might receive the benefit and the encouragement of the committee of sequestration.

When the result of the inquisition was declared, that all the church-lands in the parish of Manchester should be forfeited for the use of the commonwealth, the classical assembly, in its distress, appointed a day of public humiliation, to beg the mercy of God in the preservation of the peace and integrity of the churches of the province of Lancaster, especially of Manchester and the neighbouring congregations. The object of this fast was evident, being to incite the people to resistance.

The commissioners were now prepared to seize upon the revenues of the Church of Manchester; but as an opposition from the formidable body of the Presbyterians was expected, Colonel Thomas Birch of Birch Hall, near Manchester, one of the

¹ In the classical assembly of Manchester, August 14, 1649, it was agreed, that a public day of humiliation should be kept at Manchester upon the Wednesday ensuing, in regard that the hand of God had fully gone out against the inhabitants in a violent fever and the small-pox. And on the 18th and 20th of September of the same year, the provincial assembly at Preston ordered a day of thanksgiving on the third Thursday in October, for a supply of corn from abroad, for the plentiful harvest, and for the mitigation of pestilence which had begun.

commissioners, was entrusted with a party of soldiers to see that the judgment of the court was duly enforced. Mr Heyrick, who had ever considered the emoluments of his wardenship as a sort of property above the control and disposal of the state, inasmuch as it had been given to him in lieu of a treasury debt owing to his family, refused to tamely surrender up the charter chest of the college. When Colonel Birch, therefore, found that he was resisted, he placed himself at the head of the party of soldiers under his command, and forcibly burst open the door of the chapter-house, which had been secured against the decrees of the sequestrators.

But this was not the only outrage committed by the republican troops. The first successful attempt which had ever been made to deface the beautiful architecture of the Collegiate Church of Manchester was effected by this military rabble. For it is worthy of remembrance, that, owing to the exemplary character of the Popish wardens during the time of the Reformation, their interference had prevailed in rescuing the walls which had been entrusted to their guardianship from the very common fate which had befallen most of the ecclesiastical structures of the kingdom. The same good fortune also had attended this edifice during the most turbulent period of the contest between the King and the Parliament. Mr Heyrick's good taste had been no less opposed to the destructive spirit of the age in which he lived, and he had ever displayed the same friendly regard which had been evinced by his predecessors for the preservation of his church in its pristine state of integrity. But against the enthusiasts of republican times, no remonstrance on behalf of architectural dignity could possibly avail. The soldiers were levellers, fifth-monarchy men, seekers, ranters, or other violent enthusiasts, most of whom, in anticipation of Christ's immediate reign upon the earth, were zealously intent upon rooting out all symbols of the Great Harlot, with which they supposed the land would be otherwise defiled, and rendered unworthy of the expected government of the saints. They were consequently far more hostile than the rigid Presbyterians against all supposed marks of the beast; and when they were ordered to besiege the chapter-house, their fury became particularly directed against the rich painted windows of the church, which portrayed the favourite saints of popish times. The result was, that these splendid and revered memorials of the pious taste of our ancestors fell a wanton sacrifice to a base horde of ignorant and misguided fanatics.

It was suspected that these acts of violence were merely a prelude to a forcible deprivation of the Presbyterians of the whole of their churches. For this reason, the Manchester classis ordered that a day of humiliation should take place upon

the 19th of December 1649, to offer supplications to Heaven in reference to the trials and temptations which were likely to be put both upon magistrates and ministers.

When the sequestrators had completed their survey of the parishes and chapel-ries in the neighbourhood of Manchester, they made an official report of the same to their government.^u The deeds which Colonel Birch had carried off were then transmitted to London, there to remain at the disposal of the Republican Parliament. These writings were never restored, and the fate of them is still unknown.^x Fortunately, however, a little before this event took place, Mr Hollingworth had occupied his vacant hours in collecting materials from these ancient charters, with the view of commemorating the annals of the college. His gleanings were very inaccurate as well as scanty; yet they are to be prized as forming the basis of most of the knowledge which we possess of the earlier history of the Church of Manchester.

^u Mr Greswell, in his volume of documents, has given a copy of this survey from Kuerden's MS. collections preserved in the Chetham library of Manchester.—I have not an opportunity, owing to my distance from this town, of comparing it with the original:

"Manchester.—To the parish church of Manchester belong several messuages in Manchester, and in Newton, and in Kirkmanshulme. Valued per annum fifty-six pounds to the warden and fellows, beside increase of fines and tythes of the parish five hundred pounds per annum. Mr Richard Heyricke, warden; Mr Hollingworth and Mr William Walker, masters of the church.

"Nine chapels belong to Manchester, namely Salford, Stretford, Chorlton, Didsbury, Byron, Gorton, Denton, Newton, and Blakeley.

"Stretford Chapel, Mr John Odcroft, preacher.—Tythes from Sir Edmund Trafford, six pounds, thirteen shillings and fourpence: worth in kind twenty-six pounds, thirteen shillings and fourpence. Second part taken from Sir Edmund Trafford for recusancy. Is distant four short miles [from Manchester]; one-half mile from Chorlton; three miles from Flixton. Fit to be a parish church.

"Salford Chapel, late erected.—Twenty pounds by free gift from Mr Humphry Booth out of lands partly in Manchester, part in Pendleton, part Eccles.—Mr William Meek, preacher.—Fit to be a parish church. Tythes worth sixteen pounds.

"Newton Chapel.—Distant three miles from Blakeley; from Gorton — miles. Lands in Newton and Kirkmanshulme, thirty-one pounds, two shillings and threepence, paid to the warden and fellows: Tythe in Newton, eight pounds; Kirkmanshulme, forty shillings.

"• • • • • Bradford, Failsworth greater part. Droylsden, Moston, nearer than to any other. Fit to be a parish church.—Mr John Walker, preacher.—Late forty pounds by inhabitants, and a dwelling-house as stable built by inhabitants."

The date of the foregoing report, of which an imperfect abstract is now given, is stated to be the 4th of June 1650.

^x Walker states, in his *Sufferings of the Episcopal Clergy*, that they perished in the great fire of London, but he does not give any good authority for this conjecture.

Lastly, the sequestrators put into effect the recommendation of **THE AGREEMENT OF THE PEOPLE**, that all spiritual teachers in the kingdom should be paid out of the public treasury. They made a trifling provision for Mr Heyrick of one hundred pounds per annum ; and for the other ministers of the Manchester Church, Mr Hollingworth and Mr Walker, a yearly stipend of eighty pounds each.

From this time Mr Heyrick considered that **THE COLLEGE WAS DISSOLVED**; for which reason he ceased to retain the name of warden, and to conduct the internal affairs of his church by means of chapters. But, great as this deprivation was of wordly honour and emolument, he was little oppressed by it, as he had never yet allowed himself to be actuated by sordid views of personal ambition or cupidity. Very different, however, was the conduct of Mr Hollingworth when he was obliged to abandon the office of fellow of the college. He gave himself up to the full scope of vexatious disappointment, finding some degree of solace in attributing the dissolution of the college to the restrictions, long odious to him, which had been imposed by the latest charter of foundation, whereby the leases, which had been previously granted upon a certain number of lives, became limited to a term of twenty-one years. No inference, therefore, can be drawn from this ground of complaint, but that it was suggested by a bitter and unworthy spirit of disappointment, that the college had been thereby prevented from availing itself of such ample fines for the renewal of its leases, as would have been sufficient to afford it an independent, yet unjustifiable provision, during its adversity.

The confiscation of the church-lands and dissolution of the College of Manchester had at length given Mr Heyrick and his colleagues sufficient experience of the hostile spirit manifested against the Presbyterian discipline by the republican government. Incited, therefore, by a spirit of retaliation, they were not slow in availing themselves of all the influence which they possessed over the minds of their congregations, to promote a vigorous resistance to the demagogues who had deprived them of their political power. In seeking to advance this object, they were soon encouraged by certain important national occurrences.

Charles the Second had entered into a treaty with Argyle and his party to receive from them the crown of Great Britain, but upon the condition of setting up the Presbyterian government and profession of faith, and of abjuring the principles and councils of his late royal father. When this event was made known in Lancashire, the obligation into which this prince had entered to turn his back upon such of the moderate Presbyterians as had fought under Hamilton for the independence of Parliament, excited considerable regret ; yet, on other accounts, the

intelligence possessed sufficient cause for exultation, as it was conceived that no sacrifice could be too great which was likely to accomplish the downfall of republicanism. The Presbyterians, therefore, set apart days of humiliation in consideration of the great dangers and distractions which lay upon the people, of which occasions they availed themselves to rouse the indignation of their several congregations against the democratic rulers, and to laud the rightful heir to the crown, who had taken the covenant, and who was pledged by the most sacred oaths to defend the Presbyterian interest. The birth-day of Charles the Second was with the same view appointed to be kept with particular reverence. In compliance with these directions, the classical assembly of Manchester ordered that the 29th of May, 1650, should be held as a solemn day of humiliation to seek the Lord for the removal of the manifold distractions which lay upon the people. And when Cromwell, the great champion of the Independents, was appointed to march against the Scottish army, the classis forthwith set apart another day of fasting. On these several occasions, the Presbyterian population, which Mr Heyrick lauded as the Israel of God, as well as the great men among them, whom he named the Princes of the People, and all other men and women of prayer who were then before the Lord, were invited to open their mouths wide, and to ask great things of God.

It is easy to perceive that these fasting days must have ever exercised upon the minds of the people the greatest political influence. Puritanic ministers during their long contests with the royalists had constantly resorted to them, and they were the usual preludes of bloody enterprizes. To the prayers which were used on these occasions, the most extravagant effects were ascribed. Declaimers from the pulpit were not content with representing the Deity as dooming a sinful nation to utter destruction, yet irresolute when earnest supplications for mercy were offered up to the throne of Heaven, but they also assigned to the use of prayer a superstitious, and even profane efficacy. Mr Heyrick, for instance, was wont to impress his hearers with the conviction, that, as the fervency of prayer could avert the direst judgments, prayer was omnipotent, inasmuch as it possessed a control over God himself. "The nation," as this enthusiastic preacher would observe, "is still in an uncertain and doubtful condition, none knowing what God will do with us, and what the sentence will be at last. As the Lord, therefore, must surely wait for something from us, speak often in his ears; pray the sentence on your side, and give the Lord no rest. Esther in three days' praying overthrew what Haman and his wise counsellors were contriving twelve months.

Nothing can stand against prayer. Prayer is omnipotent ; it is a commander of the heavens ; a controller of the elements ;—it commands God himself !”

After exhortations to this effect had been delivered, the Parliamentarians would march unfearingly to the holy fight, impressed with the conviction that they had secured the decrees of Heaven in their favour, and that they were truly invincible. Unfortunately, however, for their cause, similar effects were attributed to prayer by the faithless seceders from their ranks, the Independents. Cromwell and his army offered as frequent and as devout supplications for their success in war as the Presbyterians, and at the battle of Dunbar, they naturally attributed to the fervour of them the success over the Scottish arms which their superior prowess had acquired. When the issue of this engagement was made known in Lancashire, the Presbyterians were deeply abased. The classical assembly of Manchester ordered that a day of humiliation should be observed in reference to God’s judgments then already among them, and that the same opportunity should be availed of to pray that the solemn deliberations of the provincial synod, which in these trying times was about to meet, might be productive of peace to their depressed and distracted church.

When the continued disaffection of the ministers and elders of Lancashire towards those who were in authority had reached the ears of the republican leaders, they sought to oppose its influence, by an abrogation of all the acts of Parliament upon which the claims of Presbyterianism to a civil ascendancy were founded. They would have even proceeded to more subversive measures ; but as their opponents were still very strong in the kingdom, it was judged imprudent to completely destroy, by a direct measure of force, the religious discipline which had been set up ; all that they did, therefore, was to frame an act which would give no disturbance to the Presbyterians in the possession which they had already acquired of several of the churches in the kingdom, but which would prevent them from harassing other sects who might be inclined to adopt a system of church government which was merely congregational, or a form of worship which embraced very different tenets. The ordinance which they framed, dated the 27th of September 1650, was accordingly professed to be for the relief of peaceable people in matters of religion from the rigour of former acts of Parliament ; and it promised assurance that all ministers throughout the land and their assemblies professing the true Protestant religion, by which was meant such a religion as simply excluded popery and prelacy, though of different judgment in worship or discipline, should be equally protected in the liberty of their profession ; and that every law or statute, so far as it was contrary to the aforesaid liberty, should be

repealed. This ordinance being promptly passed, all who had refused to enter into the communion of the Presbyterian church began to breathe more freely. Many unsettled congregations forthwith proceeded to elect ministers of their own without seeking for the sanction of elderships. Such also as had been secretly attached to the ritual of the Church of England, but had feared to declare their sentiments, made a public profession of those parts of their creed which had no reference to episcopacy, and supported such preachers as were inclined to adopt or revive the forms of the book of common prayer.

In short, from the date of this act of toleration, we must contemplate the Presbyterian church as shaken to its very foundation. Even candidates for the ministry seeking ordination shrunk from the obligation of so binding themselves to its government, that, in the event of any contemplated alteration of discipline, they could not conscientiously conform to the change. Master Firth, for instance, an expectant, on being directed by the classical assembly of Manchester to take the covenant previous to ordination, hesitated, and was allowed to pass his examination, with the promise that he would at any future time obey the condition, if tendered by the same authority which had originally dictated the obligation.⁷

We thus find that the Presbyterians were at length greatly shorn of their power. Congregational elderships, classical assemblies, and provincial synods, were still allowed to assemble, while their ministers had the authority secured to them over such churches of Lancashire as they were actually possessed of by the voice of a majority of communicants; they could even prevent any ministers from officiating therein who had not received the approbation of a classical assembly. They had also the power of enforcing their ecclesiastical censures; but this power was limited to their own churches, or, more properly speaking, to their own communicants.

These restrictive measures threw a great damp upon the popular zeal. A declaration was published that Presbyteries did not act so freely in the church government as formerly; that many whose religious exertions were feeble had availed themselves of the opportunity of seceding; that others who had been previously firm in their devotion were become irresolute and indecisive, from an ignorance of the extent of their legal powers; and that ministers and elders in authority betrayed a more than common anxiety for the ultimate stability of their church. This was shown in the labours of the Manchester classis to impress their parishioners with the conviction, that a fever and unpropitious season, with which

⁷ Mr Firth's letter of ordination merely stated, that "he had given satisfaction regarding the covenant."

the county was then visited, ought to be regarded as the judgment of the Deity for the general unconcern which was manifested to the wholesome religious discipline which the late pious parliament had established. On this plea, successive days of humiliation were appointed for the crying sins of the times, and the people's general unaffectedness and senselessness therewith, notwithstanding the judgments of God which were hanging over their heads in the fever that was rife and mortal in several places, and in the unseasonableness of the weather.* Public occasions such as these, which were imitated in other parts of Lancashire, afforded the Presbyterian ministers the opportunity of praying for the success of the Scottish arms, and of inciting their congregations to forcibly resist a republican government, whose odious act of toleration had sanctioned the inroad which had been made into the kingdom of every description of heresy.

During this state of adversity under which the church of Lancashire laboured, Mr Heyrick was at London. The fearless spirit of this enthusiast was employed in secret concert with Christopher Love and other Presbyterians of the metropolis how to excite a general insurrection throughout the kingdom, and he had imparted instructions to his brethren in Lancashire to foment, through the medium of the pulpit, a spirit of revolt. Upon his return to Manchester, one of his first cares, after he had resumed his ministerial duties, was to ascertain the degree of power which was left to the Presbyterian church. The open contemners of its discipline were accordingly cited. Witnesses, for example, to prove the irregular proceedings of Mr Lake of Oldham were summoned and examined. The case also of Mr Odcroft of Stretford came under notice, who had openly disclaimed the Presbyterian church-government. In this instance it was thought proper to request the advice of a justice of peace upon the question,—whether the recent act of toleration did or did not allow the civil prosecution of an unauthorized minister for his obstinate retention of a church in defiance of the prohibitory mandates of the classis, and for his perseverance in performing divine services according to the book of common prayer. Directions were at the same time given, for an inquisition to be held with the view of determining if the offender's life was generally scandalous. But these active proceedings were interrupted by unfore-

* Omens were, as usual, sought for by the Presbyterians as indicative of God's wrath. Hollingworth relates, that "in the year 1650, in one John Pendleton's ground at Blakeley, near Manchester, the corn being cut, drops fell out of it like to blood. Multitudes of people," he adds, "went to see it, and the straws thereof, though of a kindly colour without, were within reddish, and, as it were, bloody." In addition to this omen, a great flood, which happened in the year 1651, was accounted as another mark of the displeasure of the Deity.

seen political events, the result of which foreboded new disasters to the Presbyterian church.

After the battle of Dunbar the Scottish forces had rallied ; though, from their intestine divisions, they were still in a most inefficient state of defence. One party, the rigid Presbyterians, would not unite their cause with malignants, and were as ill disposed towards the King as towards Cromwell. Charles, whose volatile disposition was by this time most impatient under the rigorous disciplinarian control of Argyle and his associates, placed himself at the head of the more liberal party. While encamped at Torwood he found that the chance of his supply of provisions was cut off by General Lambert, who occupied the district of Fife, while Cromwell, in waiting for the opportunity of an attack, was encamped in his rear. Seeing, therefore, no road open to him but that which led to England, he conceived that he was invited thither by a particular providence, and made hasty marches to the south. When the intelligence of these proceedings reached the ear of the Earl of Derby, he hastened from the Isle of Man ; and being an equal favourite with the royalists of the church of England and with Catholics, contrived to get together a numerous body of followers, to which the Presbyterians even contributed, whose cause was at length identified with that of the crown. But, as no opportunity had been afforded for a previous arrangement of the insurrection, much disorder among these hastily trained levies necessarily ensued. Being encountered, therefore, by a detachment of the enemy, they were soon dissipated. Owing to these various disasters, Charles, on arriving at Worcester, saw his troops in no greater strength than when he left Torwood. On the 3d of September 1651, he was attacked by Cromwell, aided by Lambert and Fleetwood, and met with a signal defeat.

After this event, the republican rulers were determined to make a serious example of their enemies. A court of justice was erected, where accusations were determined upon by councils of state ; which court was composed of men who were resolved to sacrifice every thing to the revenge and ambition of their employers. Mr Heyrick was arrested in Manchester, and was from thence conveyed to London, where the accusations against him were implicated with those which involved the plots of other Presbyterians in the metropolis. His imprisonment was shortly afterwards followed by the arrest of the leading ministers and elders of Lancashire, who had incited the populace to revolt ; among whom were Mr Johnson (Mr Heyrick's son in law), Mr Herle, Mr Angier, Mr Hollingworth, Mr Harrison, Mr Gee, Mr Latham, Mr Taylor, and Mr Meeke. The gallant Earl of Derby was tried by a court-martial at Bolton, and died a martyr to his

loyalty. Christopher Love, Gibbons, and other Presbyterians received a capital sentence, from which Mr Heyrick escaped with difficulty ; owing his preservation to the great interest which was made for him by many powerful friends. The ministers and elders of Lancashire who had been seized remained many weeks in painful suspense, but were at length allowed, on paying serious fines, to return to their respective homes. The classical assemblies of the county, which had been suspended for two months, were then resumed.

After this occurrence, the Presbyterian leaders of Lancashire became deeply depressed and mortified. Their activity against the measures of the existing government was greatly checked by the coercion which they had endured, and their persecuting spirit against other sects was kept within limits. From this time, therefore, the Presbyterian church began to enjoy a comparative state of repose, liable, however, to occasional interruptions from the continuance of secessions which its ministers and elders had not the power to check. The civil interests of Manchester were likewise benefited by the change ; the town, fatigued with religious broils, resuming its well-known habits of industry. *

5. The short period of comparative Tranquillity which the Church of Manchester enjoyed.—A. D. 1651 to 1658.

This period of peace stands commemorated in the annals of Manchester by the munificence of Humphry Chetham, Esq. In the year 1651 he left to his

* A description of the town of Manchester and Salford of this date, affords the following information : " The people in and about the town are said to be in general the most industrious in their callings of any in the northern parts of this kingdom. The town is a mile in length ; the streets open and clean kept, and the buildings good. There are four market-places, two market-days weekly, and three fairs yearly. The trade is not inferior to that of many cities in the kingdom, chiefly consisting in woollen friezes, fustians, sack-cloths, mingled stuffs, caps, inkles, tapes, points, &c. ; whereby not only the better sort of men are employed, but also the very children by their own labour can maintain themselves. There are besides all kind of foreign merchandise bought and returned by the merchants of the town, amounting to the sum of many thousands of pounds weekly. There are in the town forty-eight subsidy men, besides a great number of burgeses ; and four quarter sessions are held in it. The town is governed by a steward, a head borough, and two constables, with a deputy-constable and several inferior officers, and great commendation is given to the regular and orderly manner in which things are conducted. The parish is said to be at least twenty-two miles in compass, within which are eight chapels, said to contain twenty-seven thousand communicants."

executors ample funds for the relief, maintenance, and education of forty poor boys, and for the formation of the noble library which bears his name.^b

With the exception of this incident, the annals of the classical district of Manchester are for nearly two years devoid of interest. Some of the churches belonging to it were perfectly undisturbed with factions, as, for instance, those of Manchester, Denton, and Ashton-under-line: these several places being under the care of attentive ministers. In the next order stood Gorton, Blakeley, Eccles, Newton, Chorlton, and Ellinbrugh. The few remaining churches of the classis were still in an unsettled state. The pulpit of Stretford was occupied by a succession of preachers, whose unsteadiness was attributable to the divided state of the congregation; until at length a Mr Richardson, a newly ordained minister of much promise, became stationary. Mr Clayton of Didsbury had left his charge to officiate in another district over an entire congregation of Episcopalians, and his place was supplied by a Mr Leadsome, whose principles appeared to be opposite to those of his predecessor, but whose labours to correct the disaffection of his flock met with little or no success. Oldham was becoming more tranquil,—its minister, Mr Lake, who had been threatened with a prosecution, which was subsequently abandoned, had made advances towards a reconciliation with his brethren, but was refused a place in their classical assembly without satisfaction being made for his past conduct, which he declined; and here the affair seems to have rested. Prestwich was still hostile to the control of elderships. A Mr Rathbone had been nominated to the care of this church, but his ministerial efforts were fruitless. Lastly, in consequence of the general disaffection which prevailed in the adjoining parishes of Bury and Middleton towards the Presbyterian government, the church of Ringley was transferred to the classical district of Manchester.^c

6. *The opposition manifested to the Presbyterian Church by Cromwell.*

—A. D. 1653 to 1657.

At length an important political occurrence roused the Presbyterian church

^b To the history of these institutions a distinct portion of the present work is dedicated.

^c At this period Mr William Walker, one of the ministers of the Collegiate Church of Manchester, appears to have been disabled by indisposition from performing the duties of his office. Among the elders of the same church who were then active, we find the names recorded of Mr Ralph Wollen, Mr Wickins, Mr Buxton, Mr William Byron, Mr Illingworth, and Mr James Lancashire.

from its passive state. The tyrannical republican Parliament, alike odious to the royalists and the Presbyterians, was dissolved by Cromwell. When the news arrived in Manchester, so great was the emotion of surprise and joy, mingled, however, with some fear for the future, which prevailed among the Presbyterians, that, uncertain under what circumstances they should be again allowed to meet, they abruptly adjourned the first classical assembly which after this event had been convened. But their suspense was soon removed by seeing, to their discomfiture, a Parliament designedly composed of all descriptions of independents, fifth monarchy men, anabaptists, and others, by whom Cromwell was declared Protector of the kingdom.^d

After Cromwell had succeeded in the great object of his ambition, he sought to gain the sanction of popularity to his election, and therefore, to please all parties, summoned from every part of the kingdom an independent Parliament, in aid of which he gave freedoms of election to larger towns who possessed no franchise. Manchester then sent a representative to Parliament in the person of Mr Charles Worsley.^e With this popular measure a gleam of hope cheered the long despairing minds of the Presbyterians, that their church-government would be again fortified by the special protection of the legislature.

By this assembly the despotic views of Cromwell met with a repulse. Great discontent consequently ensued, and in the west of England a plot was formed, one ramification of which extended to Lancashire. Sir George Booth, who was among the most zealous, and, from his high birth and family honours, the most illustrious of the Presbyterian party in Lancashire, proposed to invite the county to declare for the King and a free Parliament; and, in connection with this scheme, solemn fasts, the usual forerunner of violence and bloodshed, were ordered at Manchester. But before he could act, tidings of the defeat of the chief insurgents rendered the enterprize abortive. The protector then ordered a general thanksgiving throughout the realm, which in Manchester was most reluctantly obeyed; no ministers being nominated by the classical assembly either to preach or to pray.

This rebellion gave Cromwell the pretext for instituting a military government throughout the kingdom, which in Lancashire gave such discontent, that the ad-

^d In December 1653, a day of thanksgiving was ordered for the great mercy of God in removing the general sickness with which the town was afflicted.

^e This event, which is a most interesting one in the civil history of Manchester, has been for the first time recorded and well explained by Mr Baines in his *Lancashire Gazetteer*. In this work a copy of the writ is given.

herents to the royal cause are reported to have outnumbered the contrary party in an almost immeasurable proportion.

The opposition which the Protector had encountered from the Presbyterians made him little ceremonious in his open disapprobation of their principles. Though attached to the Independents, he confirmed the full liberty of conscience which had been granted to all such as did not publicly profess popery or prelacy. He allowed the Presbyterians to retain possession of as many of their churches as contained congregations disposed to acknowledge their discipline, but he sanctioned no forcible attempts to drive other sectaries within the same pale. He even encouraged all parties in their profession of dislike to a church which founded its chief claim for preference on the rigid intolerance which it enforced.

As a consequence of this declaration, the Presbyterian church suffered less from open revolt than from a languid state of discipline. Too many ministers and elders neglected to attend the meetings of classical and provincial assemblies; while private members of congregations, content with the ordinary services of the Sabbath, hesitated to present themselves before an inquisition of elders for admission to the Lord's supper. Young persons were no less careless towards their catechists. Even Mr Heyrick's attachment to Presbyterianism was somewhat doubted, though for no other reason than that he was known to retain an invincible attachment to the superseded liturgy; for it has been before observed, that, when acting in conjunction with the Assembly of Westminster, he had sought to convince himself that the common prayer-book contained errors of such a weight as to justify his renunciation of it; but that his judgment having bent before more weighty sectarian motives, nothing was more likely than a return under less urgent circumstances of all his ancient predilections. At length it was conceived that a revival of certain favourite and select portions of the book of common prayer was not inconsistent with the tenets of the Presbyterian government. Accordingly, with the important view of reclaiming such communicants as met for divine worship according to the forms prescribed in their favourite ritual, a synod of Lancashire ordered that the Lord's supper should be restored, and, along with it, the Apostles' creed and the ten commandments. Proposals were likewise made for substituting a new catechism in lieu of the mysterious one which had been commanded by the Westminster divines.

But these conciliatory measures failed in appeasing the enemies of the Presbyterian discipline. The avowed adherents to the Church of England still more openly met together. Though debarred from declaring themselves Episcopalians, or open favourers of prelacy, in opposition to the commands of the ruling powers,

they had the full privilege granted them of publicly assembling, and of continuing among themselves all the forms of worship prescribed in the book of common prayer, which did not militate against existing laws. By this means they became out of the pale of the Presbyterian control. A question was even started, whether their power was not still more extensive? In the case of churches which had formerly been under the episcopal government, but where the congregation, by a majority of voices, had refused to give a sanction to the new directory of worship, it was asked whether they could be legally claimed by the Presbyterians, and subjected to their church government. In the second classical district of Lancashire, the regular churches of Bury and Middleton had refused upon this account to acknowledge a submission to elderships.^f Lastly, Mr Isaac Allen, with the concurrence of a large majority of the congregation of Prestwich, kept possession of the church of that parish, and was in vain summoned before the classical assembly of Manchester to make restitution. The arguments with which he repelled their plea, that there was no other church government but theirs admitted as the established one of the nation, were to the following effect: "We are unsatisfied what you mean by your church; whether you mean your church at Manchester, where your classis is, or you mean the church of England. If you mean the church of Manchester of your association, it is established not so much by an ordinance of the Lords and Commons in Parliament, as by latter acts granting the free exercise of religion in doctrine and worship to all churches and

^f In the latter case, that of Middleton, the defalcation of Mr Symmond is related after the following manner by Mr Walker in his *Sufferings of the Episcopal Clergy*: "Mr Symmond was disapproved of by the classis for not bringing a certificate according to the ordinance of Parliament. For these crimes he was inhibited from preaching at Middleton or exercising any ministerial offices within the precincts of the classis. Whereupon the parish petitioned that he might officiate until another could be gotten to supply his cure. To this the classis answered, that they sadly lamented the defect of provision of the means of grace in that congregation, but must still persist in refusing Mr Symmond permission to officiate there, and that they chose rather to have none than him. After the parish had remained for some time vacant, they at last placed one Fellsgate, an unordained preacher, in it, against whom the parishioners, to the number of seventy, petitioned, alleging his insufficiency. This petition they renewed a second and a third time, stating that he was a person unknown to them even by name; that they could not learn what he was, or so much as whence he came, only that it was said in general that he was an Irishman. Notwithstanding these remonstrances, he was continued amongst them as their minister at least fifteen months, though still unordained; until at last, being summoned before the classis for clandestine marriages, he was refused their approbation to the place, and threatened with an inhibition;—but it does not appear that this was put in force."

congregations in their own way,—to all and all alike, except such as are particularly cautioned against. And as you in your presbytery of your church at Manchester are protected because you have possessed yourselves of that church, there are others in other churches, to wit Prestwich, Bury, Middleton and the like, who may say of their way of worship,—It is the only government which is established in this church! But if your meaning be of the church of England, you are certainly mistaken, and dare not maintain it that the Protector or his council owns presbytery and none but that government.”^s

Against these arguments the classical assembly of Manchester, under the conviction that their church laboured under the discouragement of Cromwell, deemed it imprudent to contend. A harmless question was therefore propounded, which bore a reference to the sole and divine right of ordaining assumed by preaching elders,—“How far it was lawful for a man to hear an unordained minister?”

7. Certain miscellaneous Events occurring from the years 1655 to 1657.

While these contentions were going on, a few miscellaneous events occurred which it will be expedient to notice, as belonging to the more general annals of the Church of Manchester.

In the year 1655, Henry Pendleton, younger son and heir of Francis Pendleton and Cicely his wife, who inherited from Richard Bexwick the ancient chauntry named Jesus Chapel, in consequence of this chapel being in a ruinous state and the roof having fallen down, sold it to the parish to be converted into a library for English books; trustees being appointed to look after the repair of it, who were to direct that the money raised by people being allowed to bury there should be applied to this use.

The Radcliffe chapel was in the same year possessed by Mr James Radcliffe, son of Richard Radcliffe, Esq.

November 11, 1656, the presbyteries of the classical district of Manchester sustained a great loss in the death of Mr Hollingworth, whose exertions to promote their cause had been enthusiastic. He was a man in many respects similar to Mr Heyrick, being equally violent and intolerant towards those who differed from him on articles of faith;—but the noble disinterestedness and carelessness

^s The arguments used by Mr Allen are copied from a subsequent controversy which he held with the classical assembly of Manchester, wherein they were distinctly repeated. This controversy forms the subject of the ensuing section in this chapter.

of worldly lucre manifested by his coadjutor, Mr Hollingworth greatly wanted. Upon the occasion of his death, we no longer find that Mr Heyrick assumed the ancient privilege of his chapter-house to nominate a successor to the ministry of the church ; but, on the contrary, as the college was considered as dissolved, the acquiescence of the congregation was demanded. This is evinced by the following extract from the minutes of the classical assembly of Manchester : “ Agreed that a fast be observed at Manchester, Wednesday the third of December next, and that Mr Gee and Mr Tildesley be sought unto to preach upon the occasion of the sad breach made in the congregation by the death of Mr Hollingworth, late minister there ; and to desire the Lord’s guidance and assistance in another election of a minister to succeed him.”

It appears that the choice of the congregation devolved on Mr Henry Newcome, Master of Arts, of St John’s College, Cambridge, and afterwards rector of Gawsorth in Cheshire. His approval by the classical assembly was recorded as follows :—“ Agreed that a letter be sent to Mr Henry Newcome, to certify that the classis do approve of him to be a minister thereof, and bless God that providence hath brought him thither.” And it was also ordered, “ that a day of thanksgiving be appointed in Manchester, on the 3d of December, for the settlement of the congregation in respect of the ministry, and also for delivering the town from the late sickness that hath raged in other parts.”

Mr Newcome became a most active member of the classis of Manchester, and, as his biographer has observed, “ joined with Mr Heyrick in classical meetings with the rest of the neighbouring ministers, and in dispensing all ordinances in that numerous congregation ; and afterwards preaching privately at home and abroad. And when he could not preach, he wrote many excellent papers upon several practical subjects, and dispersed them among his hearers, who contributed freely towards his maintenance, and took great care of him and his.”

8. *The rise in the classical district of Manchester of the sect of moderate Episcopalians, and their opposition to the Presbyterian discipline.*—A. D. 1657 and 1658.

We must now turn our attention to another important event in the history of the Presbyterian church of Manchester. This was the rise of a party intent upon setting up some modification of an episcopal form of ecclesiastical government. Among the individuals composing it, who dwelt in the district of Manchester, we find the names recorded of Ferdinando Stanley of Broughton, Thomas Prestwich, Nicholas and Francis Mosley, and Leonard Egerton, Esquires ; Captain John

Byron, Thomas Holland, Thomas Symmond, John Ogden, and John Pollett, gentlemen. Among the ministers in the vicinity of Manchester embracing the same tenets, were Mr Allen, Mr Clayton, and Mr Lightfoot.

The aspect of political affairs was, however, unfavourable to any very sanguine hopes which might be entertained of a complete revival of the former state of church-government. Cromwell's usurpation having been considered by his early Millenarian partisans as opposed to the government of Christ, he was induced, from this cause, to revoke his system of military government, and to keep the army in check by summoning another Parliament composed of persons devoted to his interest.^a By this assembly the plenary functions of royalty had been offered to his choice, the authority of which he had accepted to the exclusion of the name.

When he was thus, to all appearance, confirmed in his government, the favourers of episcopacy began to reflect, with deep concern, that the act of toleration strictly excluded from its benefits the setting up of prelacy; and that even in the realization of a last and lingering hope, namely, the restoration of monarchy, they were by no means assured that episcopacy would be restored; particularly as the prince, during his abode in Scotland, had taken the covenant. In this state of despair, they contemplated the revival of some description of church government, which might resemble episcopacy without assuming its name; and, in the course of forming a scheme of this kind, a system of moderate episcopacy framed by Archbishop Usher, suggested itself, as affording a suitable ground-work for the plan. This system, if we would understand subsequent events, it will be necessary to explain.

In the year 1641, Dr Usher, Archbishop of Armagh, proposed, as an expedient for the prevention of many distractions in the churches of Great Britain, foreseen by him, a scheme which he drew up under the title of "the reduction of episcopacy to the form of synodical government, as received in the ancient church." This was nothing more than a system of limited episcopacy, which, in order to be put in force, required the following arrangement:—

The author recommended that in every parish the rector or incumbent pastor, together with the church-wardens and sidesmen, should each week sit in judgment upon all who lived scandalously in the congregation; that offenders should receive such admonitions as the quality of their offences deserved; but that if they con-

^a In the year 1656, it appears that another election for the borough of Manchester took place, on which occasion Richard Radcliffe of Manchester was returned in the writ.—(See Mr Baines's *Lancashire Gazetteer*.)

tinued irreclaimable, they should be suspended from the Lord's table until the judgment of the SYNOD, under which the parish or congregation was immediately subject, should be known.

This synod was intended by Dr Usher to meet monthly in each rural deanery, under the presidency of a suffragan, who in the ancient church was named *Chorepiscopus*. In this synod, it was intended that all the rectors or incumbent pastors within the precinct should assemble, and determine, by a majority of votes, the contentions or references that should be brought before them, particularly on questions of excommunication.

A higher synod was the Diocesan, which was proposed to be held once or twice in the year. The members of it were to be all the suffragans of the various rural deaneries, and either the rest of the rectors or incumbent pastors of each deanery or a select number of them. At the head of this assembly the author placed the bishop of the diocese ; and his design was, that before him the whole of the affairs of the diocese should come in review.

The highest synod which Dr Usher meditated was the National. He conceived that in this assembly, whose functions were to legislate for the whole of the spiritual affairs of a large province or kingdom, the members ought to be composed of all the suffragans of the various deaneries, and of the bishops of each diocese ; and that at the head of these there ought to be placed an archbishop as moderator.

The system of moderate episcopacy it is impossible to contemplate without being struck at the approach which it makes to the form of the Presbyterian government ; the great difference being, that it abolishes all interference of lay elders chosen by congregations, and that, in this rejection, the various judicial assemblies, by ceasing to be democratic, are composed of various ranks of ministers self-ordained. For instance, in modifying the Presbyterian discipline of Lancashire, so as to harmonize with the scheme of Dr Usher, nothing more would be required than, *first*, to convert the offices of elders into those of church-wardens ; *secondly*, to vest the sole power of admitting or rejecting communicants in the respective ministers of congregations ; *thirdly*, to allow none but the regularly ordained ministers of the various parishes comprised in a classical district to form the monthly classical assemblies ; *fourthly*, to place over each classis a minister invested with the authority of a rural dean ; *fifthly*, to allow the provincial synod of Lancashire to be composed of none but ordained ministers ; and, *lastly*, to place at the head of the synods of the county a minister clothed with the permanent authority

of a bishop, but who, for prudential motives, might still retain the name of moderator.

It is evident, however, that considerable difficulty would occur in putting this design into execution. The existing act of toleration was by no means intended to protect a prelatical form of church government, which, from the sanction that it gave to monarchy, would, if admitted, be opposed to numerous civil changes of a democratic nature, to which the republican faction had appealed for its support. Under these circumstances, the most feasible mode which suggested itself was to join issue with the Presbyterians, whose church-government in Lancashire possessed the full sanction of national authority, though not to the annoyance of other sects ; and to this scheme they were encouraged by the unpopularity which lay elders had incurred, as well as by the impatience which numerous communicants had expressed in submitting their moral or religious conduct to the control of any church officer who was not a regularly ordained minister. The projectors of a revival of episcopacy therefore conceived, that, as a preliminary step, they could not err in encouraging the popular disaffection which was already excited against lay elders.

The success of these endeavours greatly exasperated Mr Heyrick and his associates. Having made various concessions to their opponents in the revival of the Lord's supper, according to the form of the book of common prayer, and in the introduction of other portions of the English ritual, they were indignant that these overtures for reconciliation should have had no other effect than in encouraging renewed designs against them ; they therefore began to think that the distracted state of their ecclesiastical government resulted less from the act of toleration which was in force, than from the too passive and forbearing line of conduct which they had evinced ; and hence they were induced to pursue measures which had no further effect than in involving their church in new difficulties. A complaint was made at a synod of Lancashire, that, of the number of persons who either ceased to attend the communion, or who refused to offer themselves for trial and admission before their several presbyteries, many possessed a competency of knowledge, and maintained a carriage of life which was conscientious, yet were unacquainted or doubtful with regard to their help in their spiritual state ;—that others were notoriously scandalous, being drunkards or unclean persons, who lived in opposition to the government of the church in a sinful state, and were grossly ignorant of the main points of Christianity, yet were not dealt with, according to the rule of Christ, by admonition, or the further censure of the church. This representation having been duly weighed, the synod came to a resolution, that there was some duty incumbent upon ministers and congregational elders hitherto unde-

fined, by which it was possible that such offenders might be brought to a capacity and willingness to receive the public communion ; and that an invitation should be given to the several presbyteries of the county to deliver in their sentiments upon so important an inquiry.

The Manchester classis promptly obeyed the request ; and at a synod held on the 6th of October 1657, at which Mr Heyrick presided as moderator, an address was submitted to the assembly, in which it was lamented, that, for want of the vigorous exercise of the church-discipline, ignorance, atheism, and licentiousness had sprung up, and that men lived as lawless persons out of their rank and order. It was therefore recommended, that, in the various classical districts of Lancashire, an exhortation should be published to the following effect :—That all persons, and particularly such as lived in the name of Jesus Christ, should be warned to break off their iniquities by repentance, and should submit to be reclaimed by private admonition, otherwise the classis would make use of that power which Christ had committed to them for edification, and not for destruction : —That if these warnings should be contemned, course would be taken for excommunicating the obstinate, and thereby purging out the old leaven, to the glory of God, to the deliverance of the souls of the ministers and elders from that guilt they would otherwise lie under, to the preserving of the ordinances from profanation, and the rest of the lump from being leavened, to the stopping of the mouths of such as sought occasion against the church, and to the everlasting welfare and salvation of souls that went astray : —That, for the promotion of this end, every minister should, in the *first* place, set apart one or two days for the catechising of the several families, and that he should exhort such as were found by him to be persons of knowledge, and in conversation blameless, to present themselves to the eldership, that so they might be regularly and orderly admitted to the sacrament of the Lord's supper ; *secondly*, that notice should be taken of all persons that forsook the public assemblies of the saints, and constantly turned their backs on the sacrament of the Lord's supper ; *thirdly*, that like notice should be taken of all scandalous persons ; *fourthly*, that they should be privately admonished ; *fifthly*, that their names should be published openly in the several congregations before whom they must be warned to reform ; and, *sixthly*, that if they should still continue obstinate, they should be cast out and excommunicated."

This proposed measure (strange to add !) met with the recommendation of the synod, and was accordingly read in the church of Manchester, and to other congregations. All its effect was in exciting the greatest astonishment that an experiment of so bold a kind should be made in the face of the act of toleration then

in force. Non-communicants "of blameless life" who were thus denounced, threatened the classical assembly with a civil prosecution. An attempt was then made to explain away this very intolerant exhortation, the absurdity of which could not be concealed by all the logic and ridiculous quibbles which were advanced in its support. It was urged that blameless individuals were specially treated of in a distinct clause appropriated to themselves; that they were simply threatened with a private exhortation; and that though in the clauses which followed it was explicitly added, that all persons forsaking the assemblies of the saints should be dealt with according to the censures of the Presbyterian church, yet that blameless persons refusing to communicate were not necessarily included in this universality. Mr Allen of Prestwich, the early opponent of the Presbyterians, interpreted this letter as every one else did, and drew up a remonstrance to the classical assembly, which was subscribed by many of the leading Episcopalians. In this document, the peremptory command that persons of competent knowledge and otherwise blameless in life should present themselves before their respective elderships for admission to the Lord's supper, met with the following comment: "But what if they will not present themselves? The ministers must exhort and admonish them!—What if they still refuse? Their names shall be published openly in the several congregations, and they shall be warned before all to reform:—that's the fifth order! Mark! men of blameless life and of knowledge must be warned before all to reform!—But what, if after all this they will not reform, but continue obstinate? Then no admission to the sacrament; that's implied in the fourth order:—There's their Excommunicatio Minor!—But that's not all; a higher censure yet:—'They shall be cast out and excommunicated!' So saith the sixth and last order,—the great excommunication, which casteth out of the church also, and judgeth them no better than heathens and publicans, notwithstanding all their piety and knowledge!—So that, in brief, all wilfully ignorant and scandalous persons are to be excommunicated, and not only they, but the knowing and blameless of life, if they present not themselves to the eldership!"

Other parts of this remonstrance were no less pertinent. In remarking upon the power assumed by a classical assembly, or synod, to a general censure, the Episcopalians added,—“If so, then we, who never were any members or associates of yours, are not within the verge and course of Presbyterian discipline! For what have you to do to judge those that are without?” And in protesting against being driven into “a common fold of Presbytery,” they observed, “And this, as we suppose, is the chief design of you,—to subject all to your government, which

you garnish over with the specious title of Christ's government, throne, and sceptre. Presbytery is the main thing driven at here; and however she cometh ushered in with a godly pretence of sorrow for the sins and ignorance of the times, and a duty incumbent upon you to exercise the power which Christ hath committed to you for edification and not for destruction, yet these are but as so many waste papers wherein Presbytery is wrapped to make it look more handsomely, and pass more currently. But beware we must; for *latet anguis in herbâ.*"

Again, in reply to the threat of the classis that notice would be taken of all who forsook the public assembly of the saints, it was asked,—how far the classis extended this saintship? If they extended it no further than to their own church, and to such as subjected themselves to its government, then was applicable the answer which Saint Augustine gave to the Donatists, who would not acknowledge any church in the world but that which existed among themselves: "*O impudentium vocem! Illa non est, quia tu in illâ non es. Vide ne tu ideó non sis; nam illa erit, etsi tu non sis.*"

The Episcopalians, lastly, advised their adversaries to forbear recommending that complaints should be brought before the tribunal of elderships of those who walked disorderly, but rather to give notice that such complaints might with more advantage be transferred to the civil magistrate, whose sword of justice was sharper and longer, and likely to work a greater reformation in the lives and manners of men, than any sword of excommunication which a Presbyterian could wield. "And if you," as they added, "under colour of authority, will make laws and edicts, and publish them openly in the church for all to obey upon pain of excommunication, contrary to the laws in force, it concerns you to look to it whether you have not run yourselves into a *præmunire.*"

A variety of other points of difference were discussed in this letter, which it is not necessary to quote, as they throw little light on the real subject in dispute.

The gentlemen who gave their sanction to the remonstrance, after having requested a further explanation of the various doctrines objected to by them, which they declared "to lie sadly on their spirits and consciences as not sound and orthodox," subscribed themselves as "brethren desirous of truth, unity, and peace in the church."

This letter having been read to the classical assembly of Manchester, Mr Heyrick, the moderator, replied with much urbanity, that though the classis was sensible of great harshness and bitterness in the remonstrance, yet that they acknowledged the civility of the gentlemen in taking that way to desire satisfaction from

them. An answer was therefore promised. The classis then appointed Mr John Harrison of Ashton-under-line, a minister of considerable erudition, to undertake this task.¹

The members of the classical assembly, in their reply, were particularly anxious to refute the charge made against them, that their government was destitute of civil authority ; and in reciting the various ordinances on which it was founded, urged, but with little success, that nothing had been subsequently enacted to take away the power which had been granted to them. They protested against any separation from the authority of the classis, and denied that any individuals within their bounds, unless they should renounce Christianity and their baptism, could in the Apostles' sense be deemed to be without the compass and verge of the Presbyterian government. They also maintained that the refusal of persons to associate with them in promoting the discipline of their church was not an exemption from censure by it ; and that if liberty ought really to be conceded to certain sects, no one could possibly assume that it ought to embrace popery and prelacy. On the subject of excommunication they took occasion to remind their opponents, that under the prior establishment of prelacy " many godly ministers had been suspended from their ministry to the undoing of themselves and families and loss of their congregations." They declared that excommunication was God's ordinance, appointed for the reformation of the scandalous ; that they resorted to it reluctantly and after long time given for conversion ; and that they were ever more desirous to heal than to cut off any member. They then stated, as a general answer to the persecuting spirit attributed to them by their opponents, the distinct circumstances under which the censures of the church might be awarded or suspended. This explanation is an important feature in the Presbyterian history of the church of Manchester, as it shows that the opposition manifested to its intolerance was gradually effecting a cure. After remarking that such errors, sins, and practices ought to be proceeded against, even to a censure of excommunication, which had a tendency either to subvert the faith and overthrow the power of godliness, or to cause the name and truth of God to be blasphemed, or to destroy the order, unity, and peace of the church of Christ, they excepted

¹ Mr John Harrison, of a respectable family of Wigan, received an university education. He had been appointed to Walmsley chapel, and afterwards, by Sir George Booth, to the living of Ashton, where, as his biographer in the Nonconformists' Memorial has remarked, " he was many years its learned, and faithful, and laborious minister, eminent for his humility, zeal to God, and steadfastness in his principles." His brother, Dr Peter Harrison, of Christ's College in Cambridge, had officiated at Cheadle in Cheshire.

from this condemnation the errors of conscientious men. "Such persons," they added, "as hold other errors in judgment, about which learned and godly men possibly may and do differ, and which subvert not the faith, nor are destructive to godliness, or that be guilty of such sins or infirmities as are commonly found in the children of God, or, being otherwise sound in the faith and holy in life, and so not falling under censure by the former rules, endeavour to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace, and do yet out of conscience not come up to the observation of all those rules which are or shall be established by authority for regulating the outward worship of God and government of his church,—the sentence of excommunication for these causes shall not be denounced against them."

In the course of this reply various other topics were discussed. The *jus divinum* of the elders and superior antiquity of the Presbyterian government were learnedly defended. Lastly, Mr Harrison, then writing in the name of the classis, undertook to show that the classical and synodical part of the Presbyterian government was founded upon the practice of the primitive churches; and as the system of Archbishop Usher had met with great commendation from Dr Bernard, who had considered it as likely to unite in one common form of church government the views of two great religious parties of the nation, he was resolved not to be inferior to this writer in the profession of conciliating sentiments, and accordingly added: "We reverence Dr Bernard for his moderation and profession of his desires for peace, wishing that such as do consent in substantial for matter of doctrine would consider of some conjunction in point of discipline, in order that private interests and circumstantial might not keep them so far asunder."—"And we do here profess that we should, so far as will consist with our principles, and the peace of our own consciences, be ready to abate and tolerate much for peace sake; that so at the length all parties throughout the land, that have any soundness in them in matters of faith, and that are sober and godly, though of different judgments in lesser matters, being weary of their divisions, might fall on the necks of one another with mutual embraces and kisses, and so at last, through the tender mercy of our God, there might be an happy closure of breaches, and restoring of peace and union in this poor, unsettled, rent and distracted church, to the glory of God throughout all churches."

When Mr Allen, who was the organ of the moderate Episcopalians, had read this last confession, he hailed it as affording the most fortunate of opportunities to publish the common wish of himself and his friends, that the Presbyterian and their own church might be united under such a common form of discipline as would simply exclude the government of lay elders. Leaving, therefore, all the

subjects undiscussed which had no reference to this great object, he commenced his letter in the most courteous terms. "Dear friends, (nay more) brethren dearly beloved to us in the Lord." Then after adverting to the wishes expressed for the union of the two churches, he asked, "and who are they that disturb this our happy closure and conjunction? We wish not with the Apostle, that they were cut off, but that they were taken away that trouble us; for only they let that will let, until they be taken out of the way, and those are the ruling elders as you call them. By this name we suppose you mean those whom you have chosen out of the laity, and admitted without further entering into holy orders into the whole exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, in equal right with the ministers of the Gospel, whom you say you cannot consent to part with, unless you should betray the truth of Christ, (as you judge), and for further testimony refer us to some modern authors, all of yesterday. Now by this parenthesis we gather that you are not so wedded to that opinion but you can and will submit to better reason when offered to you; and we do again profess to you that we will not wilfully and pertinaciously hold a contrary tenet. And in this confidence we proceed to show to you that lay elders are not meant nor mentioned in those texts by you alleged."—Mr Allen then cited a string of authorities in support of his argument, in which it is not necessary to follow him.

This singular letter concluded with a recapitulation of the blessings that would ensue from the proposed reconciliation, as well as with a threat (a most unfortunate one!) that, if the offer of peace was refused, legal means would be adopted to command a dissolution of the Presbyterian government. "By conceding to us, therefore," it was added, "we shall be happily freed from the trouble of any further rejoinder unto your answer, which otherwise we must do; and, amongst other considerable reasons, to take off your government from that establishment of authority upon the proof whereof the most considerable part of your answer doth consist."

This epistle was most ill timed. It was addressed to an assembly composed of ministers and lay elders, yet, with singular modesty, denounced the latter as intruders, and called for their expulsion. But how was this to be accomplished? Could Mr Allen suppose that the lay elders would, with the meekness of lambs, put on their hats and walk out themselves? Or did he call upon the ministers to show the lay elders the door? Or did he, as a third expedient, mean to say, that, if additional assistance were required to turn out the lay elders, the ministers might command the co-operation of the moderate Episcopalians? One of these

modes must of necessity be implied ; so that in whatever light Mr Allen's letter is regarded, it cannot but be condemned as injudicious, or perhaps mischievous.

This letter, when read to the classical assembly of Manchester, excited one sentiment of indignation. The members contented themselves with a verbal answer, in which they merely adverted to the legal threat that was held out against them : They resolved, as they professed, to waive the discussion of every matter in dispute, until their opponents had made out their exceptions to the civil authority adduced for the exercise of the Presbyterian discipline : For, as they observed, if they had no more authority for their church government than the moderate Episcopalians had for theirs, the terms ought certainly to be much otherwise.

Mr Allen was now directed by his supporters to draw out a rejoinder, which was at considerable length, and in a strain of great bitterness. The legality of the authority under which the Presbyterian government had been set up was objected to on many grounds : *first*, that it had only the concurrence of the two great estates of the realm, having been without the royal assent, and that to render it valid, the consent of His Highness (Oliver Cromwell) was essential ; *secondly*, that it was repealed by the act of 1650 made for the relief of religious and peaceable people from the rigour of former acts of Parliament. The arguments used in support of these positions it is not necessary to recount. The assertion that all persons were within the verge of the Presbyterian government, and as a consequence, liable to church censure, unless they renounced their baptism, met with a very proper reply : “ And here, gentlemen,” observed Mr Allen, “ you may do well to consider whether you do not subject yourselves to the contempt and scorn of all other parties, who conceit that they have as full power by their rules of church discipline to censure you as you have them ; *jam sumus ergo pares*. Yet they dare not censure or punish any out of their church-membership contrary to the several acts made for toleration. An ordinance, therefore, of lords and commons for settling of your Presbyterian government will be no sufficient plea for your actings contrary to the known laws since made, but will prove you contemners of the civil power, and may run you upon a *præmunire*.”

Mr Allen, in the next place, availed himself of the dissatisfaction expressed by the classis at hearing *presbytery* called a *common fold*, to institute an inquiry into what was really meant in apostolic writings by the original term.—But it would be deviating from the main object of the present history to follow the writer in this part of his inquiry.

Another subject of retort was the intolerant threat which had been made use of by the Presbyterians at those who, in the language employed on this occasion,

“ had rent from their church.”—“ And who are they,” asked Mr Allen, “ who have rent from your church? We hear but of few that ever admitted themselves members or professed themselves of your association, that ever rent from it. Those that are out say, that they were never of you,—never had sworn obedience to or subscribed any articles of yours, as you, or many of you, had sworn canonical obedience to the government by bishops, and subscribed the thirty-nine articles of the church of England. Here is a rent indeed, a schism in the highest!”

In fine, the general tenor of the reply made by the Episcopalians was as follows:—The Presbyterians have boasted that they possessed both an ecclesiastical and civil function; a commission from Christ as well as the state. Arguments were therefore brought forward to show, that these new lights had no light from antiquity or primitive forms, and that these new rules had no establishment either by the laws of the Christian church, or by the laws of the land.

When Mr Allen’s letter was read to the classical assembly of Manchester their answer was, that this way of writing was not likely to attain the end which the parties had mutually professed to be their aim, namely, peace and satisfaction on both sides. On the plea, therefore, of more pressing business, which would impede the getting up of a formal rejoinder, the assembly appointed a committee of their number, consisting of five ministers and eleven lay elders, with instructions upon a fixed day to personally confer with the leading members of the Episcopalians, on the subject of an accommodation of their respective differences.

This committee accordingly met, but to their surprise were encountered by only one Episcopalian, Mr Mosley; his party, as it was explained, being in high dudgeon. This gentleman appeared very anxious for peace, and professed his wish for another meeting to be held, when he would induce his associates to attend. He also proposed that the mode of mutual accommodation, forgetting all that had been written, should be the sole proposition to be considered. But here the committee, in pique at the neglect shown them, stood out. They expected, as they declared, satisfaction for other matters, dwelling particularly on the threats with which they had been assailed of a civil prosecution. Mr Mosley was then inclined to sympathise with the wounded feelings of his opponents, and, in the warmth of them, expressed a wish, that the whole correspondence might be burned, rather than prevent an accommodation from taking place; and that, if any wrong was really done by his party, he was willing to make satisfaction for it at the market cross. Upon these professions Mr Mosley’s proposal met with acquiescence, that an accommodation should, in the first place, be attempted; but that,

in failure of it, the different subjects treated of in the controversy, upon which the parties were at variance, should be successively considered.

The proposed meeting was, however, postponed, owing to the absence of Mr Heyrick in London ; the presence of this gentleman being by each side considered as an indispensable acquisition.

During this interval the angry feelings of a few individuals led to a fresh rupture. The earnest desire for peace evinced by Mr Mosley was idly adjudged by the thoughtless as a concession to the superiority of the arguments advanced by the Presbyterians. This absurd interpretation roused the indignation of Mr Allen, who, without consulting his colleagues on the propriety of the measures of retaliation which he thought fit to adopt, sent the whole of the correspondence which had ensued between the classical assembly of Manchester and the Episcopalians to press, under the title of *EXCOMMUNICATIO EXCOMMUNICATA*. This collection of documents was accompanied by a preface, which professed to take a popular view of the inquisitorial conduct exercised by elderships towards communicants. It was written in a most bitter strain of irony, of which the following extract may serve as an example :—“ ’Tis a trouble to us,” said Mr Allen, “ to hear these men cry out against prelacy and episcopacy as only an artificial and political device to lord it over God’s inheritance, whereas indeed their little fingers are heavier than the prelate’s loins. Though they tell us their way is a friendly, meek, and social way, we find it not ;—they make us only as publicans and heathens. It should seem that all that they intended in the change of church government was to slice the diocesan into parochial bishops, and with him in Lucian, to cut out the old useless moon into fine new stars, every one of which should claim the same influence and dominion over the people which the prelates did.

“ What David said of Goliath’s sword, surely they say of the holy sacrament. ‘ There’s none like unto that !’ no engine so likely to teach us obedience, and to give them the sovereignty as that. They impale the supper of Christ to their own inclosures, and, as absolute judges of all communicants, keep back all persons that have not their Shibboleth ready ; that will not fall down and worship that idol which they have set up. The Egyptians were hard taskmasters to expect the children of Israel should make bricks and make straw too ; to require the same number of bricks without materials to make them of. This is something like the severity of our new masters. They censure for not doing that which they render to us impossible. If we come not to the Lord’s supper we must be excommunicate ; and they will not permit us to come, because we are ignorant, or scandalous,

or profane. And 'tis proof enough we are so, because we are too stout to fall down and worship their imaginations."

After these severe strictures on the perverted and tyrannical use which elder-ships had made of their power, Mr Allen summed up his complaint by lamenting, "that persons who had appropriated to themselves the name of saints, and would have the world to think them the only Christians, instead of sweetening and endearing the spirits of men, that they might come to the knowledge of the truth and be saved, should irritate and embitter them by their too bold judging in private, and by their fierce and severe censures in public; as if indeed it was their work to deliver them up to Satan."

When this strong censure of the general conduct of presbyteries appeared in print, the publication was denounced by the Presbyterians as a breach of faith; for it was urged, that, if there really did exist just cause of provocation against any members of the classis for misinterpreting to the disadvantage of the Episcopalians Mr Mosley's anxious expressions for peace, a complaint ought, in the first instance, to have been made to the committees appointed on each side, who had been convened for the special purpose of a mutual accommodation of differences. Even the Episcopalians themselves were hurt that the publication had taken place without their authority. Mr Allen, therefore, felt unwilling to confess that the act had originated with him, and when questioned on the subject did not hesitate to use concealment or prevarication.* At length he was induced to admit his individual responsibility both for the printing and the preface, in order, as he stated, to prevent any dissension from this cause among his own party. After this confession the Presbyterians boasted, that though the Episcopalians were resolved to keep peace among themselves, they had dealt with their adversaries agreeably to the popish maxim,—to keep no faith with heretics.

* It is very unpleasant to record any deficiency of ingenuousness in so able a controversialist in the cause of his church, and of religious liberty in general, as Mr Allen. The circumstances which appear against him are as follows:—A letter was sent by the classis to this gentleman, requesting him to certify with his signature, if the act of publishing the papers and of drawing up the preface was owned by himself and the party with whom he was associated. To this demand Mr Allen refused to give a written answer, but, accompanied by Mr Mosley, waited the next day upon Mr Heyrick, who took minutes of the conference, which he afterwards laid before the classical assembly. In these minutes it appears, that Mr Allen distinctly stated that he knew nothing of the printing of the papers, and had therefore brought Mr Mosley with him, who would furnish the requisite satisfaction. Mr Heyrick then adds, that he requested the explanation might be committed to paper; upon which the meeting was hastily broken up.

When Mr Allen found that the sense of his colleagues was against his conduct, he came to the classical assembly of Manchester, accompanied by certain of his partisans, and asked if the treaty for a mutual accommodation of differences might still go forward, which he offered individually, and with the interest of all his friends, to promote. He was, however, answered, that although the classis was still most desirous of peace, it would be evident, that, whatever new obstruction had arisen to it, must be attributed to the injudicious printing of the correspondence with its accompanying preface, which would oblige the assembly to have recourse to the same mode of publishing to the world their vindication : but that when this was done, they would be willing to again enter into a consideration of the means by which their various contentions would be allayed. To the reasonableness of this proposition Mr Allen gave his assent.

Mr Harrison of Ashton was then requested to undertake, in the name of the classis, a reply to Mr Allen, with which he complied. It was inscribed to the provincial assembly of London, and, in the dedication, the situation of the presbyteries of Lancashire was likened unto that of "their reverend and beloved," the ministers and elders of the metropolis. "When you, our reverend brethren," it was remarked, "had first been shined upon and made so fruitful, the divine grace caused a second enlivening beam of civil authority to fall upon this remote and despised county ; to constitute in it also several classes, and afterwards a provincial assembly :—since which time such heavenly influence hath been stayed. As our lot hath happily fallen to follow you in the favour of God and civil authority, so we have unhappily fallen into your lot, especially this classis, to be followed with the anger, opposition, reproaches, and contradiction of men of contrary minds ; which, though hid in the ashes in great measure formerly, and but sparkling now and then, here and there, in a private house or congregation, yet when we would, conscientiously and tenderly, have improved the government for the instruction of the ignorant, and information of the profane, it brake out into a flame. And no way but that flame must be hasted to such a beacon, that it might not be quenched till the whole nation had seen and taken notice."

In their answer the classical assembly of Manchester stated, that their *first* object was the defence of their former paper, which had been printed without their privity or consent ; and that for this reason, they had drawn up a narrative in explanation of the occasion which had given rise to the correspondence, and in justification of subsequent proceedings. The assembly, in the *second* place, advanced new claims on behalf of the legal establishment of the church government which they exercised, and contended that their proceedings were perfectly regular, and

in conformity to the ordinances of Parliament ; they also endeavoured to solve the question which had been raised by their opponents,—whether the liability to civil penalties freed individuals from ecclesiastical censures?—*Thirdly*, they attempted to obviate the imputation of perjury and schism which had been levelled against those who, having subscribed to the articles of the episcopal church of England, had subsequently refused to admit of prelacy. . On this head the classis admitted, that schism opened a door unto heresy, into which it did oftentimes degenerate ; but that with regard to their own schism, they could repeat with Gerhard, “ it was a good schism, yea a blessed schism ! ”—*Fourthly*, they professed to show the danger of admitting moderate episcopacy ; adding, that the being of a church and a lawfully ordained minister were evinced, and sufficiently secured in the want of episcopacy.—*Fifthly*, they advocated the *jus divinum* of ruling elders.—*Sixthly*, they strove to prove that the Scriptures were the sole and supreme judge of all controversies in matters of religion, and the only sure interpreters of themselves ; and that the councils, or the unanimous consent of fathers, or even the universal practice of the primitive churches, ought not to be the rule of interpreting Scriptures.—*Lastly*, in consequence of some incidental reflections being made on the Presbyterian government of Lancashire in a work published by Dr Saunderson, the classis undertook a refutation of these charges, which they comprised in the form of an appendix.

This rejoinder, which was professed to be the last that the classis would make to their opponents, was remarkable for its learning, and, if we except a few passages, for its moderation. As a set treatise it was far too prolix, and the matter of it ill-arranged. Too many pages also were occupied in adjusting mere verbal disputes ; as, for instance, the difference which the Presbyterian church made between an exhortation and an admonition. The work may, however, be perused with interest by all who would wish to be acquainted with the early principles of the Presbyterian dissent from the church of England.

The controversy was now brought to a close, in which it will be evident, that during the origin and progress of it neither party had been disposed to act according to the strict letter of the act of toleration. Presbyterian assemblies had illegally dictated to churches out of their pale, while their opponents, in attempting to set up an Episcopal form of government, were themselves no less excluded from the protection of existing laws.

Lastly, a popular outcry was excited, that moderate episcopacy was holding up a stirrup for Antichrist to get into the saddle !

9. *The Miscellaneous Events connected with the Church of Manchester about the year 1658.*

Few events now appear in the minutes of the first classis of Lancashire which are of sufficient importance to be recorded. In Manchester, at the close of the year 1658, there were three instead of two efficient ministers of the church. In consequence of the death of Mr Walker, for many years incapacitated from performing his clerical duties by illness, a Mr Joshua Stopford, bachelor of arts of Magdalene College, Oxford, received a call from the congregation and was ordained.¹

At this time the common services of the Presbyterian church were well attended, but its discipline languished. Many of the Lancashire classical assemblies were deficient in their monthly meetings, and so many of them neglected to send delegates to the provincial synods, that it was found impossible to hold them at nearer intervals than twice a-year. The more zealous then proposed that active means should be taken to obviate this state of relaxation. It was resolved, therefore, that ministers who did not send a satisfactory excuse for their absence should be doomed to preach extra courses of sermons; and that for the sake of general improvement, greater industry in the personal instruction of members of congregations, and in the catechising of families, should be enforced.

With regard to the favourers of episcopacy, they now saw that the adoption of their proposed changes would be impracticable; that the appointment of ordained ministers presiding over each of the classical districts of Lancashire, as well as the election of a supreme head of the general synods of the county, even though the names of deacon and bishop were unassumed, would be regarded as nothing less than a system of prelacy in disguise, which was liable to be visited by rigorous penal laws. All that they sought, therefore, was to induce congregations to disclaim the government of lay elders, and to vest all religious power and control in properly ordained ministers of equal rank. This last point they expected to gain, and were even inclined to indulge the ulterior hope, that the time was not

¹ It is stated in the minutes of the Manchester classis that he presented himself as an expectant, and had an instrument of *Si quis* given him to be affixed on the church-door. He was also examined in Greek, Hebrew, logic, ethics, physics, and metaphysics, and had a question given him to defend,—*An datur perfectio in hac vita?* which he disputed in the negative. He was ordained on the 23d of September 1658, which day had been ordered to be kept as a solemn fast for the business, as well as on account of the judgments of God which had been manifested in the great rain during the time of harvest, and in the sickness that had prevailed in many places.

far distant when some opportunity would accrue, favourable for carrying their great design into effect. In the meantime, they conceived that they could not well err by fomenting a spirit of discontent at the authority and officiousness of lay elders, and by inviting secessions to their own church, on the plea that the inquisitorial examination of communicants by unordained men was abolished, and that an easier access was thereby afforded to a participation of the divine ordinance. Presbyteries, on the other hand, loudly denounced this free invitation, and hence the name of *the profane party*, which was continued to be attached to all such as polluted the Lord's table by admitting individuals to partake of it, whom the ruling elders, in the exercise of their authority by a divine right, had not adjudged to be worthy of the communion of saints. In the town of Salford, for instance, the profane party mustered very strong. Mr James Brown, who had been proposed as a successor to Mr Meeke, on being admitted into the pulpit, though only upon trial, kept forcible possession of it, and being supported in his opposition to the lay elders of the church by the patron of it, Mr Boothe, and, as it was added, "by many learned divines and godly Christians," gave notice that he would upon his individual responsibility administer the Lord's supper. The feoffees and elders endeavoured to eject him, but in vain; upon which many of the Presbyterians quitted the congregation. At length it was resolved by the Manchester classis, that the affair should be submitted to arbitration. The result of the reference is not stated, as important political changes were occurring, which rendered contentions like these of comparatively little moment.

10. *The reconciliation of the Presbyterians and Episcopalians.*—A. D. 1658 and 1659.

The unsettled affairs of the nation were at this time in the process of being brought to a crisis. Owing to the protector's improvidence in attempting to form a House of Lords from his most active supporters, he had found that such members of the lower chamber as remained after the promotion had taken place were not very compliant with his laws. He therefore set up another form of government, in which the military power was intended to be restrained by the counteracting of individuals invested with powerful civil functions. The greatest dissatisfaction ensued; and we find the royalists renewing their plots, and the Presbyterians entering into the conspiracy. Even the agitators and the fifth monarchy men were rendered furious by disappointment, and assassination was meditated. The protector lost his tranquillity of soul, and sank under a bodily complaint under which he laboured. Richard Cromwell, his successor, was soon de-

posed by the turbulent officers of the army, to make room for the restoration of the republican convention, which then became stigmatised by the name of *the Rump Parliament*. The indignation of most parties at this recal was unbounded. Presbyterians and royalists forgot their ancient animosity, and joined in one common cause ; the former being incited by the hopes of restoring the independence of a constitutional Parliament, and the latter being actuated solely by love and loyalty to the royal house. From this time, therefore, the interest which the late Manchester controversy had excited began to subside, and to give way to other and more powerful motives, which recent occurrences had called forth.

When the two great religious parties of Lancashire had thus become politically united, it became a favourite object with many Presbyterians to make all such possible concessions to their dissenting brethren, as were not inconsistent with the stability of their own church ; or even to discover points in which an union of opposite sects might be effected. Accordingly, Mr Drury, the minister of Gorton, drew up a dissertation addressed to the synod of the county, which had for its object an accommodation of many of the differences subsisting among the Protestant churches of England ; a committee being appointed to take it into consideration, and to make a report. Mr Heyrick and his associates were also disposed to act upon the same liberal principle ; and as the Presbyterians and the Episcopalians were in common averse to the introduction into their pulpits of any but regularly ordained ministers, it was conceived by them that these two sects might with advantage unite their influence to exclude from their respective churches mere gifted preachers,—such as were countenanced only by the independents. These overtures meeting with attention, the ministers and elders of the Manchester classis went still further in their advances towards a reconciliation with their adversaries ; they made a voluntary offer to render the terms of admission to the Lord's table more accessible ; and as both parties had adopted the form of communion which was to be found in the book of common-prayer, they experienced less difficulty in proposing that it might be lawful to hold communion and to preach in each other's congregations. The propositions made on this occasion were as follows :

“ Propositions for accommodation agreed upon by us whose names are subscribed at a meeting in Manchester, July 13th, 1659.

“ 1. We agree that all persons who shall be admitted to the sacrament of the Lord's supper shall have these qualifications ; *first*, a competent knowledge in the principles of religion and being sound in the faith ; *secondly*, such as be without scandal ; *thirdly*, such as maintain the spirit of Christianity in praying and instruct-

ing their families, reading the word, careful sanctifying of the Lord's day, and the like known duties in Scripture : according to which rule since the reformation we conceive we have walked, and, God assisting, do intend to continue so :—

“ 2. That we hold communion in each others' congregations in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, as there may be occasion, upon recommendation, or personal knowledge of such members of our congregations as desire it :

“ 3. That if there have been any deviations, or shall be for the future, from the character above-mentioned, the persons thereat offended, having discharged their duties, shall give notice to the churches that there may be orderly proceeding against them :

“ 4. That such pastors as are suitably endowed with gifts and graces for the ministry, and have due trial and approbation by preaching elders, shall be allowed of among us ; and for the future, after like trial, there shall be an imposition of hands by preaching officers upon such as are to undertake a pastoral charge :

“ 5. That none shall preach among us but such as are approved by preaching officers, expectants excepted, and that we shall not disturb each others' congregations by imposing on them preachers unordained, and that we shall use our endeavour that no offence be given by the preaching of mere gifted men :—

“ 6. We do also agree to preach in each others' congregations, and to meet together for advice as occasion requires :

“ 7. That cases of offence be heard and determined by a meeting of delegates equally chosen on both sides :

“ 8. That we will lay to heart all our unnecessary distances and unbrotherly carriages one towards another, and engage in this accommodation in all unfeigned love and steadfast resolution, praying with and for each other, and laying aside to our utmost all words and carriages that may violate or prejudice our Christian communion :

“ 9. We, concurring in these things, do promise to communicate the same to others that may be concerned, that so after our next meeting, which is to be on the fourth Thursday in September next, there may be an acting according to this agreement :

“ 10. These things we agree unto, reserving to ourselves each of us our principles :—

Richard Heyrick,
Henry Rooth,
Samuel Eaton,

John Angier,
John Harrison,
John Tildesly,

Thomas Smallwood,
Henry Newcome,
Richard Eaton,

John Jaques,	James Jackson,	Robert Birch,
Joshua Stockport,	Jeremy Marsden,	Robert Hyde,
Michael Bristoe,	William Colburn,	James Johnson,
John Jollie,	Edmund Richardson,	Thomas Hammond."

The result of this liberal offer, which did not involve in it on either side any sacrifice of fundamental principles of difference, was successful ; and we find from this time the Episcopalians and the Presbyterians uniting with the utmost cordiality, in carrying into effect the highly important political objects in which they were equally interested.—These will be now described.

11. *The joint insurrection of the Presbyterians and Royalists against the republican government, and the restoration of monarchy.*—A. D. 1659 and 1660.

In several counties of England there was a resolution to take up arms against the republican government, but the only conspiracy put into execution was that of Sir George Boothe, who was then the chief of the Presbyterian party in Lancashire. Without proclaiming the actual name of the king, he simply invited the gentry to declare for a free Parliament and a single person. In aid of this cause the Presbyterian ministers employed in the pulpit all their eloquence, and in Manchester Mr Newcome received for his powerful exertions the greatest commendation. A general rendezvous of Sir George Boothe's supporters took place at Routon Heath, near Chester, where three thousand foot and horse appeared well mounted and armed. They then advanced with colours flying, with drums beating, and with trumpets sounding, towards the city gates of Chester, which were thrown open to receive them. The rump Parliament felt alarmed ;—the union of Boothe, a powerful Presbyterian, with the royalists, being accounted a dangerous symptom, Lambert was entrusted with the force sent out to quell the insurrection, at whose approach Sir George Boothe was so imprudent as to issue out of the walls of Chester, and upon an open plain near Northwich, to expose his raw troops to the experience of military veterans. His army was routed, and pursued as far as the town of Manchester ; thirty of his men being slain, and himself taken prisoner, along with three hundred of his followers.

At this disaster the inhabitants of Manchester were overwhelmed with grief and consternation. The classis resolved that a public exercise which had been appointed to be held on the third Wednesday in August 1659 should be turned into a day of fasting and prayer.^m

^m In this notice prayers were also ordered to avert the unseasonableness of the weather and

Soon after this event, Lambert excited distrust in the minds of the republican rulers, who feared that he would convert to his personal advantage the military power which he had acquired. Fleetwood was therefore placed over his head as commander in chief. The superseded soldier revolted, and being supported in his resistance by his followers, the army once more became possessed of authority, and meditated the formation of a military Parliament, which was intended to be composed of officers out of each regiment. General Monk, then stationed in Scotland, protested against these violent proceedings, and being encouraged by his soldiers, prepared to avenge (what he chose to call) the violated privileges of the constitutional Parliament. His cause was promoted by the people who refused to pay the taxes which were necessary for the support of the army under Lambert. Desertion was the immediate consequence; and upon a reward being offered for the apprehension of the demagogue, he surrendered in hopes of an ultimate pardon.

General Monk now found himself invited to suppress military tyranny, and to declare for a free Parliament. He obeyed the voice of the majority of the nation. The members who had long been excluded from the two houses being again summoned, undertook to arrange the disturbed affairs of the country, and made many wise provisions for its future government. With regard to the national religion, they declared for the Assembly's Confession of Faith; ordering likewise the solemn league and covenant to be reprinted and set up in every church in England. They lastly passed an act for their own dissolution as a Parliament, calling for a new one to meet, and, in the meantime, appointing thirty-one persons to take care of the government.

A solemn day to return thanks for these national events was ordered by the Manchester classis in the following terms: "Forasmuch as there hath been a solemn day of thanksgiving observed by the Parliament and the city of London for the late great and wonderful changes and deliverance began by God for his people in these nations, and that we in these parts have an eminent and particular share in the same, it is agreed by this classis, that Thursday the four-and-twentieth of March instant (1660) be observed as a public day of thanksgiving in the churches of Manchester, Ashton-under-line, Oldham and Eccles; and that notice thereof be given to the several congregations within this classis the Lord's day

the distemper of the small-pox which had prevailed;—and at a subsequent meeting of the classis it was resolved, that a letter should be transmitted to the synod of Preston, in excuse for not sending delegates because of the sad distractions of the times.

preceding, to the end that the said day may be observed in a religious manner as the matter doth require."

Secret meetings of the Royalists were now held in London and other places, with the view of consulting upon the conditions under which the King might be invited to the throne. The Scottish Presbyterians, as well as those of the north of Ireland, rigidly insisted upon their discipline being established, without indulgence to sectaries. But the leading English Presbyterians were beginning to be much less sanguine in their expectations of seeing such a project completed. They reflected that during the long religious convulsions which had distracted the country, Presbyterianism had too often found favour or countenance in proportion to the rank of the individual to whom its cause was pleaded; that while its democratic character had recommended itself to the great mass of the people, it was naturally displeasing on this account to the aristocratical part of the community, who had been only induced to give it favour, because it was less odious to them than the still newer levelling and republican principles which had been fostered by the Independents. With regard also to the popular voice, they were aware that the general stream and current had begun to set in for a revival of the old prelacy. They were disposed, therefore, from these various considerations, to recommend measures of conciliation with the Episcopalians, in the ultimate hopes of being enabled to introduce Archbishop Usher's scheme of primitive Episcopacy, conceiving that it would not be found subversive of good discipline, and that, having some warrant for it from holy writ, it would, if adopted, save the nation from a violation of the solemn league and covenant, which, whether it had been lawfully imposed or no, they conceived to be still binding upon their own church. Such were the conferences which took place, and which ended in a mutual agreement, that all ecclesiastical differences should be eventually referred to a conciliatory synod, to be summoned when the King should be settled upon his throne.

In Manchester, Mr Heyrick was much inclined to join in one common form of worship with his late opponents the moderate Episcopalians; and this was naturally to be expected: As his preference for Presbyterianism had originally arisen less from a conviction of the soundness of the abstract principles of the system, than from a dislike to the conduct of certain individuals who had formerly filled the sees of the late church, his feelings were the more likely to give way under such a change of circumstances as recent political events had called forth.

On the 25th of April 1660, the Convention-parliament met. Letters which Charles, in concert with his advisers, then assembled at Breda, thought fit to ad-

dress to the two Houses were read, promising all the security which the nation could desire for the preservation of its rights and liberties ; offering, though in guarded terms, a general pardon to all who were disposed to lay hold of it within forty days, except to such individuals as should be specially objected against by Parliament ; professing also so great a regard to tender consciences, that no man should be disturbed or called in question for differences of opinion in matters of religion, which did not disturb the peace of the kingdom ; and that the royal consent would be given to such an act of Parliament, as upon mature deliberation was calculated to insure the full grant of the promised indulgence. These mere verbal professions gave such satisfaction to the two Houses, that, without further stipulation for the plenary security of them to the subject, it was unanimously voted, that, according to the ancient constitution, the government of the country is, and ought to be, by king, lords, and commons ; and a committee was forthwith appointed to draw up a dutiful invitation to his Majesty to return to his affectionate people.

In the deputation that was accordingly sent over, the leading Presbyterian ministers were, at their own request, included. These divines, in the audience which they had of the King in Holland, began with magnifying their own affection and that of their friends, who had always wished for his Majesty's restoration according to the covenant ; they then announced that they had apprized their people of their duty to invite their sovereign home, and that they had rendered thanks to God for his Majesty's constancy to the Protestant religion, declaring themselves no enemies to moderate Episcopacy, but desiring only that such things might not be pressed upon them in God's worship, which, though in the judgments of those who used them were indifferent, had been by others held to be unlawful. Charles replied to the Presbyterian ministers with kindness ; acknowledging their great services, but informing them that he would refer every thing to the wisdom of Parliament.^a

While the Presbyterian divines were thus giving up every expectation of being enabled, upon the restoration of the King, to establish their discipline in England, and were proposing to seek for nothing more than a reformed liturgy, the nation at large was running less cautiously to the common goal of Episcopacy. This

^a The King's account of this conference, described in a subsequent proclamation, is as follows :—
 " When we were in Holland, we were attended by many grave and learned ministers from hence of the Presbyterian opinion, and to our great satisfaction we found them full of affection to us, no enemies to Episcopacy or liturgy (as they have been reported to be) but modestly desiring such alterations, as, without shattering foundations, might give ease to the tenderness of some men's consciences."

was first indicated by the heads of the colleges being importunate in their application to be restored. A committee was accordingly appointed by the Parliament to receive their petitions. The Lords also, whose bias for the restoration of prelacy became daily less dubious, in consequence of a petition from certain ejected fellows who complained that they had been unlawfully ousted out of their places, ordered that the injustice of which they complained should be promptly redressed. Lastly, the House of Peers directed, that, upon the day when the King should be proclaimed, their chaplain should read divine service before them in his formalities according to the book of common prayer.

This projected revival of the prelatical establishment was far from exciting any extraordinary emotion among the Presbyterians of Manchester and other parts of Lancashire. They had long been aware of the impossibility of supporting their religious discipline against the united opposition of the Episcopalians and the Independents. So far, therefore, from expressing any sorrow at the prospect of prelacy being revived, they hailed it as a national measure, calculated to unite two great contending parties in the bonds of good will and charity to each other; particularly as it was anticipated, upon the faith of the King's promise at Breda, that the change would be introduced under such a lenient form, that no retraction of the solemn covenant into which their church had entered would be demanded.

In Manchester the King was promptly ordered to be proclaimed, to the infinite joy of the townsmen, and to the great mortification of the republican soldiers, who had previously been billeted upon the inhabitants. While the proclamation was in the course of being read, it was seized by a Captain Bexwick and was torn to pieces.

Sir George Boothe and his friends being by these unlooked for events liberated from confinement, the rejoicings which took place upon their return were excessive.

These various causes of national exultation led to a complete relaxation of manners. The formal demeanour which had been acquired during the gloomy and austere reign of puritanism was suddenly dismissed, and a dissipation ensued which rivalled that of which the cavaliers had been accused. The ministers of Manchester, in their anxiety for the spiritual welfare of their flock, complained that Englishmen could not meet upon the ordinary affairs of life, but the first and preliminary requisition was enforced, to drink a full cup to the health of the King.

Charles's first policy, upon being called to the throne, was to elevate Presbyterians and the known favourers of Episcopacy equally to state honours: The Earl of Manchester, a leader among the former, being appointed the Lord Chamber-

lain, while Sir Edward Hyde of the Royalist and Episcopalian party was the new Lord Chancellor. But as Presbyterianism was still acknowledged to be the state religion, Calamy and Baxter were among the King's private chaplains. Upon this circumstance, as well as upon the King's having taken the national covenant in Scotland, the Presbyterians had placed an undue reliance, the new monarch's faithless character being little known.

Charles now professed his intention of embarking for England to take possession of the throne of his ancestors. The prospect of internal peace and security then gladdened the hearts of all, and national thanksgivings took place.

On this occasion Mr Newcome preached in the church of Manchester, where he selected for the subject of his discourse the restoration of David after the death of Absalom to his afflicted people. ° This portion of sacred history gave the preacher an opportunity of drawing, as he professed, a parallel between the Jewish Monarch and King Charles the Second "in their dangerous dissettlement and wonderful restoration." He accordingly considered David's adversity, first, in the design that was laid against him; secondly, in the pretexts to usher it in; and, thirdly, in its management. As this sermon was avowedly intended to correct any public misconceptions which might have arisen regarding the motives with which the Presbyterians of Lancashire had been actuated in opposing the government of Cromwell, it will be proper, for the sake of illustrating subsequent events, to give an extract from it:—

"It was Absalom aspired; he aimed to be King in his father's stead. The design was to exclude the rightful governor from his royalty, and to place this ambitious prince in his stead: and for this end, he raises war and draws many into a confederacy. They plotted to destroy the King; to secure the usurper on the throne. This was the design;—a most wicked and unnatural attempt!

"There is a liberty which is our birthright, and might have been maintained without violation to the laws of God and man;—but this was the bait that many were ensnared by. Oh, the noise that hath been made for the public! The administration of justice! The security of the good people of these nations! This hath been cried up to be THE GOOD OLD CAUSE! And the government settled by the fundamental laws of this land, and sworn unto by us, must be changed for the public good, when it is clear as the noon sun that private designs and interests were sought and carried on under these pretexts. We talk of public ease

° The text was the second of Samuel, 19th Chapter, 14th vers.

and liberty of the people, and of our keepers of the liberties,—whereas the people's taxes and burthens increase all along under this way of government, and must necessarily do so to keep it up. And these keepers apparently increase themselves, and, to keep their unjust acquirements, an unrighteous settlement must be kept up over the whole nation! The naked truth now appears ;—to set up an Absalom on the throne is the design, and this is done under the pretence of the justice he will do to the people! So we are also necessitated to keep up the government of a free state, as they call it, to preserve the estates unjustly gotten of a few men, which cannot endure the test of a righteous settlement, to the true public good of the nation. —This is the first pretext.

“ The second pretext is of piety and devotion, whereby this desperate, ambitious design is introduced. Absalom desires leave of his father that he may go to perform his vow in Hebron ;—a religious service, and piece of God's worship then in use, wherein by sacrifice they engaged themselves to God. And he further relates the ground of it to be the deep sense that he had of the Lord's deliverance of him in his former troubles, that then he promised to serve the Lord. So that it is not only the pretext of a mere vow for that time, or of so much religion only as might be expressed in what accompanied a vow, but he would make this vow not only a part of his intended religiousness towards God, but an introduction into a more strict course than heretofore. He would thus begin and henceforward be very strict and serious in the Lord's service ; and now how much might this take with the people, not only to get them into his conspiracy, but to tie them to him when they were in. They might a little startle when they heard him declare to usurp the kingdom ; but then this would sway much with the people. He is known to be a great favourer of the public liberty, and a man that we see owes the service of God, and sets out religiously, and therefore we may the better venture with him. He doth not declare against the temple ;—he doth not threaten to cast off the true God, and to introduce idolatry, but on his very entrance into his work pretends to a more than ordinary piety and devotion. It is easy in our parallel to find out an Absalom that had a design to aspire ;—that never showed much religion till it would advance a wicked design. On the sudden he is religious,—the only popular man,—all for devotion and the Lord's service! ‘ Oh,’ say the poor people, ‘ this cannot be murder, and rebellion, and usurpation, and perjury, that such men as these are engaged in ;—they are not profane, notorious sensual men, but men of the greatest profession and of the strictest life!’—In nomine Domini incipit omne malum ;—a proverbial speech first taken up from the pope's murderous bulls and edicts that used to come out thus in Christ's name !

It hath been one of the designs of the Devil since the church was Christian, to bring in his greatest persecutions under the disguise of some great profession ;—the matter else would want accomplices to carry it on. A vile man in esteem with a good design would have but few followers ; and a seeming good man hath a great advantage in his hand of betraying many to a bad business if he dare lead in it. Men are too apt to follow men, and can hardly keep out of error if a tolerable person undertake their conduct. It is hard for the vulgar to distinguish between good men and bad actions, as if it must cease to be evil when such men dare engage in it ; whereas men should judge men by their actions, and not actions by men. Oh, what pretences of religion and godliness hath there been in the late mischiefs that have been perpetrated ! Calling upon God ! Appealing unto God to decide the controversy ! Nay, perpetrating villany upon impulses pretended from the spirit of God ! Security of Religion ! Liberty for tender consciences ! This hath been cried up as their GOOD OLD CAUSE, that had the blood of kings and prophets at the bottom of it ! ‘ They build up Sion with blood, and Jerusalem with iniquity, yet will they lean upon the Lord, and say, Is not the Lord among us ? none evil can come upon us ! ’ Nay, their unheard of villanies are made the fulfilling of their vows ! No return for their deliverances and victories so proper as to rase our foundations, murder our king, and pull down the ministry, as no doubt it was in design ;—yet all along to advance religion too ! None so cruel among the turks as a renegado Christian ; and none more like to ruin religion than the apostate professor ;—and much the more if in truth an apostate and yet a professor still ! Absalom,—we know not what sort of a king he might have proved,—was never tried : ours have had time enough to have showed some of their great good they seemed to be big with ; but we never could see a reality in them to this end to this day.—But thus we agree in the second particular,—in the introduction of the design with high pretences of religion and the liberty of the people.

“ Thirdly,—with regard to the manner and management and advance of this design, several things are to be considered :—first, that many are drawn into the business that meant well ;—the liker to be the more resolute in the undertaking. Absalom (he knew what he intended by his vow) meant nothing less than treason or murder to his king and father. There were two hundred who followed him from Jerusalem in the simplicity of their hearts, and when they were cheated and drawn hoodwinked into this design they helped it forward. And so all over Israel ! He had his agents, who were privy to his design, and they, at the sign given, drew in the people in like manner. Many a time desperate businesses are carried on under

pretences ;—upon the secret design of a few, a sad unnatural civil war is kindled, —is carried on a great way :—too far, if it had been the will of God ! Parties engaged declare themselves defensive ;—they protest, and vow, and covenant they had no design against his Majesty’s Royal person, or just honour and greatness. The business goes on ;—the victory falls to their side ! Now the Absaloms appear, and they show what their design was !—The people went in their simplicity, meaning no other than what was declared to them ;—which hath sufficiently appeared in that the business could not be effected till force was put upon the houses of Parliament,—the Lords clearly dismissed,—near three hundred Commons pulled out, and kept out of the House of Commons !—Many hundreds in the nation would never say a confederacy with them, and have suffered according to their first declared principles and innocent intentions under these usurpations. But yet many were drawn in (no doubt in their simplicity) to go on further with them. If this had been known at first to have been the design, it might in all likelihood have been never advanced one step ; but they take their advantage. The common people and some good people of middling capacities,—others seduced and infected in their principles,—are gotten on further into the business ; they are decoyed and cheated into the design to follow that cursed Absalom to the Throne ! They pretend it is the Parliament’s cause still ;—and the people generally make no great difference between a Parliament consisting of Lords and Commons treating with the King and upon the matter agreed with him,—and a bit of a Parliament, the Lords removed, and the best and greatest number of the Commons forcibly excluded.—And to destroy the King too ! Alas ! many went in wickedness, and many in simplicity,—meaning no hurt,—not foreseeing the guile,—nor understanding the treachery.”

Mr Newcome concluded this remarkable discourse by a serious caution to his hearers, not to let the great national mercies which they were celebrating make them forget their personal interest and business to the neglect of their soul’s welfare ; and not to dishonour God in the day of their rejoicing by doing sacrifice to Satan. “ And here I must needs speak” he added “ of a profane and wicked practice beginning to break out, and upon this mercy too, (the worst time that can be for sin to meet so eminent a mercy in, lest it should turn it back again,) and that is, that men fall a drinking of healths, as if they could not testify their affection to their King, unless they do apparent dishonour unto God. For men to make this an engine to intemperance and excess in drunkening is very unworthy and unbecoming. It is that which a heathen king forbade : ‘ And the drinking was according to the law ; *none did compel* : for so the king had appointed to all

the officers of his house, that they should do according to every man's pleasure.' (Esther first chapter, eighth verse.)—His majesty, we hear, measures the affections of his subjects by the prayers they put for him, and not by the healths they drink unto him. And I hope such as these, that are a dishonour to God and the king too, will in time be made to know it. Hath the Lord given us such a deliverance as this, and shall we again break his holy commandments? Was this all the burthen that lay upon us, that we had not liberty to drink, and revel, or to blaspheme? Or is this the way to have this mercy continued or completed? Oh, lay aside this wretched excess out of obedience to God, and the King too! For be you well assured, these courses will soon breed new judgments amongst us. He that hath caused it towards evening to be light, can make our sun to set at noon. Labour to be Christians still, and to carry like Christians under this wonderful mercy;—for the Christian hath not had the least hand in the procuring of it!"

This sermon gave such satisfaction to the congregation of Manchester, that Mr Newcome was induced to publish it under the title of "Usurpation defeated, and David restored." He dedicated it to the three leading Presbyterians of Lancashire, Sir George Boothe, Baronet, Sir Ralph Ashton, and Richard Holland, Esquire. "It is grateful to me," he observed in the preface, "that I should by the providence of God date the epistle to such a sermon in this month, which but a year since was the season of so many hazards and dreadfully threatening dangers to yourselves principally, and to many others within this poor town of Manchester, which so willingly offered themselves with you in the cause of God you so signally engaged in!—Shall it ever be forgotten by us what the Lord hath wrought?"

^p This discourse Mr Newcome published along with one upon another subject, namely, "the Sinner's Hope (considered as) his privilege and duty in his worst condition;" being, as he stated, the substance of several sermons which he had preached on this particular topic. To this last publication he was urged by the following letter from Mr Heyrick :—"To my reverend friend, Henry Newcome.—SIR,—I have been earnestly entreated to importune you to the printing of these sermons, which in your preaching of them were so greatly approved of, and so signally successful. The text was Ezra 2. You have since your coming amongst us preached upon several necessary and seasonable subjects, amongst which, though many of the others might have cost you as much paines, and have been very profitable and usefull, yet these by some of your best and most judicious auditors are desired to be the first fruits to a future harvest. I should not engage you to this work, (knowing the burthens that lye upon you not only in your publick ministry, which is very great, but the multitude of private concernments wherein you are pressed above strength, and if not wisely moderated will shorten your daies,) but that my own judgment concurs with others for the publishing of them. Hope deferred maketh the heart sick: Alexander the Great he had all when he had nothing, because he had hope. The poets feign that in Pandora's box, which was stuffed with all the woes and miseries that might be, the gods placed

12. *The Revival of Episcopacy.*—A. D. 1660.

Charles, during his long abode on the Continent, having become a secret proselyte to Popery, could have well dispensed with all Protestant professions whatever; but being obliged to uphold some one of them, he very early showed his aversion to Presbyterianism, owing to the moral rigours which it enforced, of which he had sufficient proof while under the disciplinarian control of Argyle in Scotland. That profession likewise seemed the least obnoxious to him which the least infringed upon arbitrary rule and authority, and hence he soon showed a decided preference to Episcopacy, which he conceived to be in principle opposed to democracy, and on this account as likely to give more support to the crown. Actuated, therefore, by these reasons, the King very early made a violation of the promise which he had given upon his accession to the throne, to attempt no change of religion in the country without the joint acquiescence of his Parliament. Nor can any explanation be given of the passiveness which the Presbyterians, who formed a majority in the House of Commons, exhibited under this breach of the royal covenant, than the reluctance which was felt to a continuance of the various sectarian distractions which for so many years had wasted the valuable energies and resources of the country. When the King, therefore, found the Commons in a moral state so favourable to his purpose,—he pleaded, that, as all acts and ordinances of the long Parliament, which had not the royal consent, were in themselves null and void, Prelacy was still the only legal establishment, and the book of common prayer the only legal form of worship. Consistently with these sentiments, the liturgy of the Church of England was in his Majesty's chapel very early revived; which example was followed by several chapels, both in the city and the country. The Peers likewise ordered, and subsequently the Commons,

hope in the bottome. The prophet calls the people of God prisoners of hope. It was this that made the rebell" (Lambert) "come in, when a thousand pounds was proclaimed to be given to whomsoever could bring his head. The hue and crie will make the traitor run when hopes of pardon will bring him back. I shall adde no more, but that my hopes are, you will answer our hopes, and my prayers shall be for God's blessing on them. Your fellow labourer in the work of the ministry, and your reall friend and brother, Richard Heyrick."

Mr Newcome acknowledged the comfortable and affectionate condescension of his friend. "I cannot say," he replied, "much of my bodily strength; at least that it exceeds or is proportionable to the constant burthen of this great congregation; the work now lying upon three of us, which heretofore hath had seven to undertake it."

In the course of this publication a remark was made that came particularly recommended to the zealous disputants of this period: "Controversy maintains the truth; practical piety improves it."

that the forms of prayer formerly used should be constantly read before them, provided that no prejudice, penalty, or reflection should be on any that were not present.

While these events were occurring, we may easily conceive that the Presbyterian discipline of Lancashire would become more languid than ever. Classical meetings and synods were feebly carried on, and the members were interested with few discussions. One of the last questions agitated was,—Whether ordination might be given to deacons? which question seems to have been more than once debated, as all the classical assemblies were required to give their sentiments upon it. Another question proposed was,—Whether baptism was void or null when administered by an ordinary man? But this discussion was broken off as soon as the final determination of Charles was signified to immediately revive Episcopacy.

The King next pleaded, that, while monarchy necessarily involved in it the restitution of Prelacy, this establishment invited the royal protection, with the additional recommendation, that the sufferings of the bishops during the rebellion merited much of the acknowledgment of the crown. Nor did he neglect to urge, that, in the reign of his late father, every attempt to give Presbyterianism the supremacy had only plunged England into fresh difficulties. The vacancies in the cathedrals were accordingly in the course of being filled up; the surviving bishops being translated to better sees, and prebendaries being installed. Four or five bishoprics were also kept vacant for the leading Presbyterian ministers, who, however, declined the proffered boon until they could be fully assured that it was a system of moderate Episcopacy, such as had been recommended by Archbishop Usher, which was eventually intended to be set up.

The English hierarchy being thus restored, the dissolution of the congregational elderships, classical assemblies, and synods of Lancashire followed as a matter of course. The last classical assembly of Manchester, which was unattended by any of the ministers and elders of the Collegiate Church, was held on the 14th of August 1660.^a

^a The last classical assembly of Manchester stands recorded in the books of the minutes as follows :—

The 163d Meeting at Manchester, August 14, 1660.

1. Mr Hulme preached before the class according to order.
2. Mr Harrison, Moderator for Mr Constantine, begun with prayer.
3. Members of severall congregationall Elderships deputed for this Meeting :—
MANCHESTER, No Minister, no Elder; Mr Newcome sent his excuse, and it was accepted.

Recapitulation.

The history of the Presbyterian Church, as it existed in Manchester, now draws to a close. We have shown that, during a period of thirteen or fourteen years, its discipline laboured under difficulties which were perfectly unsurmountable. In the struggles which it made to enforce a system of most rigid intolerance, we find it contending at the same time against the open hostility of the Independents and of the steady adherents to the Episcopal Church of England, while internal abuses were deeply corroding its fabric, and giving rise to numerous Seceders. We again find it discountenanced by the republican government of England, and exposed to the renewed attacks of a body of Episcopalians, who were the more formidable, owing to the state of organization to which they had arrived.—Amidst this accumulation of adversities the Presbyterians of Manchester were inclined to cherish the hope, that, as Charles the Second while in Scotland had actually taken the covenant, the revival of monarchy would insure to their principles a special protection. Taking up arms, therefore, for the royal cause, defeat ensued, and with it every chance of ecclesiastical superiority.

DENTON, Mr Angier, Minister ; Robert Hyde, Esq. William Booth, Elders.

ASHTON, Mr Harrison, Minister ; Captain Sandiford, Robert Lees, Elders.

OLDHAM, Mr Constantine absent ; his excuse accepted : James Lees, Francis Clegg, Elders.

GORTON, Mr Leigh, Minister ; Mr Strangeways, Alexander Hume, Elders.

NEWTON, Mr Walker, Minister ; Thomas Baron, Peter Ashton, Elders.

BLAKELY, Mr Holland absent ; his excuse accepted : Samuel Taylor, John Travis, Elders.

ECCLES, Mr Jones, Minister ; William Smith, Elder.

CHORLTON, Mr Jackson, Minister ; James Chorlton, Joshua Taylor, Elders.

STRETTFORD, Mr Richardson, Minister ; no Elder.

FLIXTON, Mr Ellison, Minister ; no Elder.

PRESTWICH, DIDSBURY, SALFORD, ELLINBROOK, RINGLEY, no Minister ; no Elder.

4. Mr Ellison returned his instrument affixed and subscribed. Hath been examined in divinity, cronologie, and ecclesiasticall history. He maintained a dispute in this question, *Utrum bona opera sint causa justificationis vel pars aliqua justiciæ nostræ coram Deo?* and was approved.

5. Mr Ellison to be ordained at Flixton, Wednesday the 28th instant ; Mr Leigh to preach also ; Mr Newcome to give the exhortation ; Mr Walker and Mr Jones to pray ; and Mr Constantine to pray at the imposition of hands.

Mr Angier Junr. to preach next Class.

Mr Walker, Moderator next Class.

Next Class the second Tuesday in September next.

The Moderator ended with prayer.

Under the tolerant sway of Cromwell their controversy with the old royalists, the steady adherents of the prelatical church of England, was renewed, with whom, however, they were eventually reconciled, and disposed to unite, if possible, in a common system of moderate episcopacy, such as had been recommended by Archbishop Usher. The alliance thus cemented was, upon the death of Cromwell, invoked to exert itself in a fresh attempt to restore the King upon the throne. The strife, though in the onset unpromising, was at last successful; and with the restoration of the King, the prelatical hierarchy, to which the Presbyterian divines, on the faith of the royal promise of indulgence given at Breda, and in the expectation of a reformed liturgy, had expressed no dissent, was eventually revived.—How far these hopes, perhaps too sanguine, met with realization, will be shown in the subsequent narrative.

Such are the important annals which have come under our review, and which throw no inconsiderable light upon the more general ecclesiastical history of our country during the distracted times of the republic.*

* I consider the events related in this and perhaps the two foregoing chapters so curious and so little known, that the task of recording them is well worthy the pen of an ecclesiastical historian of the first order. In the present instance the narrative, for reasons before assigned, has been most reluctantly undertaken by one who admits his little familiarity with researches of this kind, and who can make no other boast than that he has anxiously sought to obviate the deficiency of inexperience, by an attempt to record the substance of the documents which he has been allowed to consult with fidelity and impartiality.

Nearly all the materials of which I have availed myself are referable to extracts made under my directions when in England from the rich collection of documents relative to Manchester, to which Mr Heywood of Swinton gave me a liberal access. But as I was obliged to draw up my narrative for the press during my stay abroad, I was thereby deprived of referring to many works that might have rendered the account more perfect. Some deficiencies will be supplied in the Appendix.

To the same collection I am likewise indebted for the great bulk of matter which forms the historical basis of some succeeding wardenships; so that instead of giving the reader, as I first intended, the result of the labours of the late Mr Greswell in a re-arranged form, I have been obliged, from the great additions made to them, or rather from a new source of information having been opened to me, to write the whole anew.—S. H.

Edinburgh, Dec. 29, 1829.

CHAPTER XX.

ANNALS OF THE RESTORED WARDENSHIP OF RICHARD HEYRICK, A. D. 1660 TO 1667.

Drawn up by DA HIBBERT.

MR HEYRICK was now reinvested with the honours and emoluments of his late wardenship; and as his fondness for the English liturgy was duly appreciated by all his parishioners, he met with much support when he zealously set about the task of reviving in his beloved church most of its rites and forms, to the omission of such as his puritanic supporters had long been taught to condemn. He was supported in his labours by Mr Newcome, whom his biographer (a non-conformist) has eulogized as "full of holy zeal and fervour; whose peculiar excellency was preaching; who possessed an eloquence that arose without any labour of his own, and which was not to be imitated by the greatest labour of another; who had a strange way of insinuating and winding himself into his hearers' bosoms, whose only regret has been, that the sermon must soon be at an end." Another of Mr Heyrick's colleagues was a Mr Richardson, previously of the chapel of Stretford. He is said to have preached the sermon at Manchester every Lord's day at six o'clock in the morning. A third assistant was a Mr Wigan, who is merely affirmed to have been a candidate in the church; his actual admission having probably been postponed until the English hierarchy should be in a more settled state. A Mr Stopford, who some months before had been ordained by the first Presbyterian classis as minister to the church of Manchester, does not now appear in the list of Mr Heyrick's colleagues.

The revival of Episcopacy having been looked forward to with impatience by the old sequestered clergy, they now flocked in great numbers about the court, eloquently depicting their sufferings, and making successful interest for preferments in the church. Charles was disposed to sympathize with their complaints, and recommended that there should be a creation in favour of all who had suffered for the royal cause. Every one then strove to take possession of the living from which he had been ejected, and several dispossessments of Presbyterian and republican occupants was the consequence. The leading Presbyterian ministers then waited upon the King, and represented, that, although a restoration of many livings had taken place in favour of such as had lost them for malignancy or disaffection to

the late powers, they conceived that the boon ought not to be extended to such as had been ejected for scandal. But the petition was ineffective ; the only favour which the petitioners could obtain being, that in every church wherein a prior ejected incumbent was dead, the living should be confirmed to the present possessor. This regulation of the King was afterwards sanctioned by an act of Parliament, entitled, "for the confirming and restoring of ministers," wherein it was ordained that every sequestered minister who had not justified the late King's murder, or declared against infant baptism, should be restored to his living before the 25th of December ensuing, and that the present incumbent should peaceably quit it, and be accountable for all dilapidations and arrears of tithes not paid.* This act was hailed as a great triumph over the adversaries of the Church of England by the old cavaliers, who saw with extreme satisfaction many hundred Presbyterian ministers quit the pulpits of which they were considered usurpers, to make way for the restoration of loyal ministers, who were now hailed as the victorious champions of their church, entitled to the honours of a triumph for their long and meritorious trials in the cause of royalty and episcopacy. The spirit which was thus excited soon extended itself to the extremities of the kingdom ; and when the royalists of Lancashire saw that their church had recovered its ascendancy, they could ill brook an association within its walls of obnoxious individuals, who for so many years had triumphed over its downfall, and who, for their refusal to submit to the Presbyterian discipline, had been subjected to harassing committees of sequestration, whereby, in addition to the blood which had been shed by their families for the royal cause, they had been despoiled of the greatest share of their ancient patrimony and estates. This state of irritation, which was beginning to be kindled, only wanted an occasion to

* *September 13, 1660.*—The King signed an act for the confirming and restoring of ministers, which enacted that every ecclesiastical person ordained by any ecclesiastical person before the 25th December last, and who was then in possession, and received the profits, being in the King's gift, or of his father, or of any archbishop, bishop, dean and chapter, prebend, archdeacon, body politic or corporation, or other person, other than such hereby restored, is declared lawful incumbent ; that every voluntary resignation of a benefice to a patron, or any pretended power since January 1st, was to be held good ; that no presentation should be considered an usurpation in law, to the prejudice of any that shall have right to present ; that every ecclesiastical person formerly sequestered or ejected after lawful presentation and reception of the profits, that hath not subscribed any petition to bring the late King to trial, or by any act endeavoured or justified the murder of the late King, or declared his judgment against infant baptism, by preaching, writing, printing, or constant refusal to baptize, should be restored to the possession thereof, at or before the 25th day of December next ensuing ; and that every ecclesiastical person removed, should enjoy the profits to that day, &c. &c.

enable it to burst forth with all its ancient vehemence. Thus, when Mr Johnson, the late fellow of the College of Manchester, who had been ejected for his attachment to the late King, was recalled, his presence in the pulpit instantly awakened in the breasts of the old suffering royalists party feelings which it was idly believed were dead, but which no subsequent coalition and redeeming efforts of the Presbyterians could wholly subdue. These again met with increased excitement when the preacher announced as his text the 3d and 4th verses of the cxxix. Psalm : **THE FLOWERS PLOUGHED UPON MY BACK ; THEY MADE LONG THEIR FURROWS. THE LORD IS RIGHTEOUS : HE HATH CUT ASUNDER THE CORDS OF THE WICKED.** A discourse of proud exultation followed, and from this time the Royalists of Manchester adopted as their motto on each public occasion, **VINCIT QUI PATITUR.**

From Mr Johnson, it is not to be expected that Mr Heyrick in his wardenship could meet with any hearty co-operation. The restored fellow was at the head of his own party, in whose minds were beginning to be rekindled the highest notions of the Episcopal government, as established under Queen Elizabeth, and to whom Presbyterian innovations could not fail to be most revolting. As this spirit was fomented by the controversy then going on between the leading divines of the existing Episcopal and late Presbyterian establishment, it will be impossible to understand the sequel of this history without some little digression, with the view of glancing at those discussions, as well as of inquiring what were the national tenets and doctrines which the warden and his colleagues were required by the authorities of their country to maintain.

The Presbyterian divines, in protesting against the great extent of dioceses, and the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of lay-chancellors and others, urged the King to put in force Archbishop Usher's reduction of Episcopacy into the form of synodical government, where bishops governed with the co-operation, and under the check of presbyters, and to direct likewise that the whole might be under the control of Parliament. They also begged that the preacher might be allowed to make a more free and unfettered use of his gifts for prayer and exhortation, and that the book of common prayer might undergo some amendment, particularly in the abolition of the use of the surplice, the cross in baptism, bowing at the name of Jesus, and kneeling at the communion.^c This representation met with a long

^c The details of what the Presbyterians sought for with regard to matters of difference are best given in a note: They protested against the great extent of dioceses ; against the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of lay-chancellors, commissaries, officials, &c. ; against bishops exercising in themselves the sole power of jurisdiction and ordination : They professed that they did not renounce

reply from the bishops, who took occasion to express the high reverence they continued to entertain for the old Episcopal government, as established by Queen Elizabeth, and of their unwillingness to adopt any of the innovations now proposed, the only effect of which would be to encourage unquiet spirits, who, whatever concessions were granted to them, would still rise in their demands." This answer occa-

the true ancient primitive Episcopacy or presidency, as it was balanced by a due commixture of Presbyters, and that, if the king would constitute such an Episcopacy, they would submit unto it. —Such an Episcopacy they conceived to be found in Archbishop Usher's reduction of Episcopacy into the form of synodical government; and they, therefore, in an address to the King, craved that suffragans or Chorepiscopi might be respectively chosen by synods; that no oaths or promises of obedience to bishops, nor any unnecessary subscriptions or engagements, should be made essential to ordination, institution or induction, ministration, communion, or immunities of ministers; and that no bishops or ecclesiastical governors should exercise their government and their private will or pleasure, but only by such rules, canons, and constitutions as should be established by Parliament. The Presbyterians likewise professed that they were content to set aside the Westminster Assembly's confession, and to adopt the liturgy of the Church of England, with some few alterations, and a discretionary liberty given to the preacher that he be not too rigorously confined to it, but be allowed to make use of his gifts of prayer and exhortation. They also desired that the book of common prayer should undergo some amendment, and that the use of the surplice, the cross in baptism, bowing at the name of Jesus, and kneeling at the communion, might be abolished.

" The bishops maintained, in reply to their opponents, that the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the kingdom was in the main the true primitive Episcopacy, which was more than a mere presidency of order; that it was not balanced by any authoritative commixture of Presbyters, who were always in subordination to bishops; that matter of mere spiritual concernment belonged properly to the bishop himself or his surrogate, and that, if any thing had been done amiss therein, they were willing it should be reformed; that bishops do not ordain by themselves, as is misstated, but actually with the assistance of Presbyters, and hence the institution of colleges of deans and chapters; that Archbishop Usher's system is not consistent with his other discourses on the origin of Episcopacy, and with the king's supremacy in causes ecclesiastical; that the liturgy is such an one as by them desired, the disuse of which has been the cause of the sad divisions of the church; that the imposition of it cannot be called rigorous as long as clergymen have the liberty of using their gifts of prayer before and after sermon; that they are not against its revival by qualified discreet persons; that, with regard to ceremonies, although they allow the worship of God to be in itself perfect in essentials, still the church is at liberty to improve it with circumstances for decency and order; that ceremonies were never esteemed to be sacraments nor imposed as such, whence their retention in most Protestant churches, and that it is owing to men's weakness, and their unwillingness to submit their private opinions to the public judgment of the church, that they have been the subject of contention; that kneeling at the Lord's Supper is a gesture of reverence and devotion, and so most agreeable to that holy service; that holy-days have been observed in all the churches of Christ in the primitive and following times, as apt means to preserve the memorials of the chief mysteries of the Christian religion, and as fit times

head. Their resentment against those who had been the first cause of the sufferings of the Episcopal clergy having been far from stifled, they were absolutely against the King's declaration of indulgence ; and, as the Presbyterians were possessed of most of the benefices in church and state, they resolved, in the first place, to dispossess every invader, on the ground, that, if there must be a schism, it would be much better to have it without than within the pale of their own communion. Instead, therefore, of seeking for methods to bring dissenters into the church, they resorted to the most effectual schemes for keeping them out.

The second party consisted of the King's secret Popish advisers, at the head of whom was the Duke of York. They were equally with the bishops indisposed to make any concession to Protestant dissenters in which the Papists were not equally included ; conceiving, that, if the Presbyterians were subject to oppression, they would unite with the schemes of the Roman Catholics in favour of an universal toleration.

The royal declaration of indulgence was thus assailed by two opposite interests. The party at the head of which was Lord Clarendon and the court bishops had become so strong, that the King shrunk from the task of hazarding the security of his crown by an opposition to the old royalists ; and, on the other hand, he was secretly disposed to favour the sectarian views of the Duke of York and the Papists. Actuated, therefore, by these separate councils, Charles came to a determination to delay his consent to the bill of indulgence, which he had himself recommended, even though it had passed the two houses. This was a great triumph to the Episcopal party, who now urged that the laws returned with the King, which ought not to be dispensed with ; and upon this plea they began to put in force the old acts of Queen Elizabeth against non-conforming to all the ceremonies of the service book. Several harsh proceedings consequently ensued, until a remonstrance was made to the King, when they were for a time suspended.

But although the hopes of the Presbyterians were for the present defeated, their attachment to the crown was in no way weakened. Being perfectly unaware of Charles's deference to his Popish advisers, they attributed the failure of the bill solely to the machination of Clarendon and his party, and gave the King full credit for the sincerity of good intentions towards them, particularly when the royal order was published, summoning a conference of twelve bishops, accompanied by nine assistants, and the same number of Presbyterian ministers, with the view that each side should seek some means of effecting a mutual conciliation, and a compromise of differences.

The King was now in the full tide of popularity, and all parties, with perhaps the

exception of some few independents, strove, in the sincerity of their hearts, which could most support the King's prerogative. The Papists acknowledged the King to be God's vicegerent upon earth in all temporal affairs : they declared that they were bound to obey him under pain of sin, and they renounced all foreign power and authority as incapable of absolving them from this obligation. The court bishops revived a resolution, passed in a convocation of the date of 1640 in favour of the prerogative of Charles the First, that the sacred order of kings was of divine right,—a supreme power having been given to it by God himself ; and hence, that whoever resisted this power, under any pretence whatever, resisted the ordinance of God, and drank to himself damnation. Mr Heyrick, who was ever considered as an accurate organ of the Presbyterian sentiments, contended with the proudest of the Episcopal divines in a search after authorities to confirm the divine right of kings ; but the doctrine of non-resistance to them he could not, with any consistency of conduct for the part he had taken in the late rebellion, uphold. He therefore urged that two descriptions of laws existed ; the laws of God, and the laws confirmed by kings : and that it was a fundamental maxim of this nation, " that, if any law was enacted contrary to the law of God, there needed no repeal of it, but that it was null of itself, and that people were not bound to the obedience of it." In short, to the doctrine of the divine right of kings no sects perhaps at this time dissented, with the exception of the fifth monarchy men. These fanatics were in expectation of Christ's immediate appearance upon earth, and therefore contended that the doctrine was heretical, as being opposed to the government of Christ.

We thus find, that although the great parties of the kingdom were virulent in contentions among themselves, they were all agreed in their attachment to the King ;—and this was on no occasion more unfeignedly expressed than upon the event of Charles's coronation. In Manchester, all ranks vied with each other who could show the greatest manifestations of loyalty ; and in this contest it was but too evident, that the rigidity of puritanic times had wholly subsided, and that there was likely to be substituted a state of national dissipation, which would run a career no less extreme than the austerity which was becoming obsolete.

On this occasion, subscriptions were raised from the more opulent in the neighbourhood of Manchester for the use of the King ;^{*} and his coronation, which

^{*} In Mr Barrett's Collections, (Chetham Library) there is a receipt for ten pounds from John Hartley for the use of the King. John Hartley was a woollen draper of Manchester. He had purchased Strangeway's estate from Strangeway of the same place, who fled for a slaughter he is said to have committed. To Mr Hartley the Strangeways' Chapel in the Collegiate Church fell

took place on April 23, 1661, was celebrated with the greatest festivity, which the following letter, from a witness on the occasion, well describes :—

“ On Monday, the 22d of April, being the day before his Majesty’s coronation, that worthy and valiant gentleman, Major John Byron (whose fidelity hath been sufficiently testified by his great sufferings in his Majesty’s service) did command his foot company, being freeholders, and consisting of one hundred and forty men well armed and disciplined, to attend the solemnization of the day : who, all being in readiness the next morning, drew forth into the field, whither Nicholas Mosley, Esquire, a sufferer for his late Majesty, captain of the auxiliaries raised in the town for defence of his Majesty’s most royal person and prerogative, did march into the same field with his company, consisting of about two hundred and twenty men, most of them being of the better sort of this place, and bearing their own arms, in great gallantry, and rich scarfs, expressing themselves with great acclamations of joy and freeness to serve his Majesty. The ensign for the auxiliaries was blue and white, and in the middle a very rich crown of gold on both sides, with this motto underneath ‘ *vincit qui patitur,*’ carried by Mr Wm. Byron of this town, and at whose charge this said ensign was made. In their marching from the field and so to the church, Major Byron’s company led the van ; and before Captain Mosley’s company, there marched, in honour of the day, forty young boys about the age of seven years, all cloathed in white stuff, plumes of feathers in their hats, blue scarfs, armed with little swords hanging in black belts, and short pikes upon their shoulders ; and in the rear of the said Captain Mosley’s company another company of elder boys, about twelve years of age, with muskets and pikes, drums beating and colours flying, marched in order. All being decently drawn up in the churchyard, laid down their arms, and so passed into the church to hear the sermon prepared for the day ; at which time there was such a concourse of people, who civilly and soberly demeaned themselves all the whole day, the like was never seen in this, nor any other place.”

Such is the account given of the commencement of this memorable rejoicing in the town of Manchester, incidental to the inhabitants assembling within the walls of the Collegiate Church. Mr Heyrick took possession of the pulpit, and, on this occasion, addressed his congregation with all the enthusiastic fire which he had manifested in the days of his youth. Although, in the fervour of

in course. This Chapel, as it has been previously stated, was supposed to have been founded by Mr Hulton of the Park. It was afterwards the property, by purchase, of Mr Reynolds, and now belongs to the Right Hon. Lord Ducie.

his affection to his sovereign, he chose for his subject the divine right of Kings to govern, he had no occasion to make any compromise of sentiment whatever to the changed aspect of the times ; having ever shown the bitterest animosity to republicanism and devotedness to the cause of Charles the II., for whom many years ago, as we have related, he ran the imminent hazard of forfeiting his life at a public scaffold. The recollection of his former anxiety for the royal succession was no doubt the cause which imparted to his discourse a fire that was almost unequalled. He selected for his text the following words from the 2d of Kings, 11th and 12th verses : **AND HE BROUGHT FORTH THE KING'S SON, AND PUT THE CROWN UPON HIM, AND GAVE HIM THE TESTIMONY, AND THEY MADE HIM KING, AND ANOINTED HIM, AND THEY CLAPPED THEIR HANDS, AND SAID, GOD SAVE THE KING.** " There is no difficulty in the words," said Mr Heyrick, " he that runs may read, and he that reads will understand."

The warden then commented upon the story of Joash, who after having been kept by violence from the exercise of his kingly authority, was eventually brought forth to the people by Jehoida, the high priest, and restored. He stated that there were three parties in this restoration : Jehoida, the High Priest ; Joash, the King ; and the people. " I name them not," he continued, " according to their excellency and worth, but as they are presented in the text. 1. Jehoida, he shows himself upon this great and glorious theatre, and he acts four things : 1st, He brings forth the King's son ; 2dly, He puts the crown upon him ; 3dly, He gives him the testimony ; 4thly, He anoints him.—The second person is Joash, the King, and the parts that he performs, answerable to the parts of Jehoida, are likewise four : 1st, He publicly shows himself to the people in his royalty and majesty ; 2dly, He wears the crown on his head ; 3dly, He takes the testimony in his hand ; 4thly, He hath the sacred oil on his breast.—The third party that appeared consisted of the people, and the parts that they performed were three : 1st, They made him king ; 2dly, They clapt their hands ; 3dly, They said, God save the King."—These are the parts and parcels of the text.

Of the mode in which Mr Heyrick treated these various subjects, some brief notice may be taken ; and first, with regard to Jehoida's part in the restoration :

" **JEHOIDA BROUGHT FORTH THE KING'S SON.**"—On this portion of the text, the preacher cited examples to show that it was four several times recorded there was no King in Israel, and that it was very observable that every time it was thus recorded there was some notorious villany, some horrid impiety that was committed. " I could easily parallel," he added, " all that I have said in our English Israel ; but the King and Parliament have made it forbidden fruit, and have pas-

sed an act of free and general pardon, indemnity, and oblivion. May God and all the people of the Lord seal to it. You see what the want of a King is, and by that you will the better judge of the blessedness and happiness of that people that have a King. Kingly government is the best government for order, peace, strength, (so saith the philosopher, and he proves them all one by one,) the best without controversy; for had there been a better, God would not at last have resolved on this for his own people. This is the most perfect, most like the government of Heaven. God changed the government from Joshua, the captain, to the judges; from the judges to Eli and Samuel, priests; but when he set a king over his people, he changed that government no more. Jehoida did a great and glorious work, when he brought forth the King;—a work pleasing to God, and acceptable to the people!

“JEHOIDA PUT THE CROWN UPON HIM—he, *Jehoida*, not the people. The crown doth not make the King, it shows him to be King;—it adds nothing to the truth and being, though much to the honour and glory. The putting the crown upon him is an external right and ceremony, nothing intrinsical or essential to the constitution of a King. The crown is an ornament of renown and glory, proper and peculiar to the wearing of Kings alone. The crown crowns the head,—the head, the highest member of the body natural: the crown on the head of the King speaks the King the highest member of the body politic. Honour, glory, dignity, are originally from the crown, and where there is no crown, there honours are not conferred. Dukes, marquisses, earls, viscounts, barons, knights, they have their dignity derived from the crown;—a stream greater or less flowing from this fountain;—rivers, rivulets coming from this sea, and returning to this sea again!—Jehoida, he puts the crown upon him:—but it is God that reacheth the crown to Jehoida to put it upon the head of the King. THOU SETTEST A CROWN OF PURE GOLD ON HIS HEAD, as David acknowledgeth on the triumphant day of victory; yea, not King David only, but King Jesus, the King of Saints, the King of Nations, the King of Kings, who hath said it, BY ME KINGS REIGN! We have God’s word for it, his deed, his best deed, his gift, I HAVE GIVEN YOU A KING! Kings are placed on their thrones by God; vested with their robes by God; girt with their swords by God; anointed by God; crowned by God;—so saith the Scripture, had I time to quote the texts. God hath imparted his name to Kings: I HAVE SAID YOU ARE GOD’S, SONS OF THE MOST HIGH. Kings have their descent from God: KING OF KINGS is upon his thigh, and Melchizedeck, his first king and his type, is brought in without father and mother, to show that Kings

are the generation of God. This made the emperors to stamp their coin with an hand coming out of the clouds holding a crown, and putting it on their heads, and accordingly to style themselves CROWNED OF GOD."

HE GAVE HIM THE TESTIMONY.—On this part of the text Mr Heyrick observed, that the testimony was a book wherein the Law of God was registered, being in the opinion of the Greek Church the book of Deuteronomy, but, according to the Jews, the five books of Moses, and that this testimony was given to the King that he might know what the law required of him in reference to God, to himself, to his people, and what he might expect from God and the people ; but that at this day Christian Kings had the Bible put into their hands, which required wisdom, understanding, integrity, courage, the fear of God, love of the truth, hating of covetousness, and having no respect of persons. " He gave him the testimony," said the Warden, " that he might be the keeper, the revenger of both tables. The King is a mixt person ; he hath the crown upon his head, and the testimony in his hand, which speaks him in all causes, and over all persons, within his dominions, supreme head and governor. They steal from the King's crown the most precious jewel, that exempt persons and causes from him. Whilst the King hath a crown upon his head, and the testimony in his hand, God and the people will love and honour him ; the crown honours him in the sight of the people, and the testimony in the sight of God, and may the king have ever this honour and love, and let all the people say AMEN."

HE ANOINTED HIM.—Mr Heyrick here explained, that all kings were not anointed, the ceremony being for the most part confined to such as were immediately chosen of God, as Saul, David, or Jehu. " Kings were anointed," he added, " to signify the collation of gifts and graces by the Spirit unto that place and function to which God called them, as it followed the anointing of Saul. Again, kings were anointed to set them apart, and to advance them above others in authority and eminency, in which oil hath some resemblance, which mixeth not with other liquors, but separateth from them, and floateth above them. Once more, kings were anointed to give evidence to the true title, and to make them depend on God's protection and blessing. Lastly, Kings were anointed to secure them from the force and violence of men and devils. TOUCH NOT MINE ANOINTED. WHO CAN STRETCH FORTH HIS HAND AGAINST THE LORD'S ANOINTED AND BE GUILTLESS ?"

The warden then proceeded to animadvert upon the second party that was concerned in the coronation, namely Joash, the King.

" First," said the preacher, " *he shows himself to the people without blushing.*"

He stands upright with boldness and confidence, innocence and justice supporting him, not as an usurper, not as an intruder, not as one elected by the people, but as the next, the right, the lawful heir to the kingdom, tacitly claiming the royalty, and the sovereignty as due to him. He shows himself to the people as a star of the first magnitude ; as a light shining out of darkness ; as the sun conquering and triumphing over mists and clouds, overcoming a dreadful eclipse that interrupted his influence.

“ Secondly, *He wears the crown upon his head.*” On this subject Mr Heyrick remarked, that he did not wear the crown because given by Jehoida, but because given him of God as the heir and inheritor to it. “ His head,” continued he, “ fitteth the crown, and the crown his head. Had any other had the crown upon his head, it would have been a crown of thorns, a vexatious crown, a talent of lead, that neither he nor his heir would have been able to bear ; a crown not steady, not fixed, but ever shaking and tottering, loose and burdensome. It is a remarkable observation, which I have read in our English history, that though the crown hath been sometimes misplaced, though sometimes usurped, though often interrupted, yet at last it has returned to the right heir, and now is seated upon the head of the heir of our English kings before the conquest.”—While the warden was thus commenting upon the crown which the King wore, an involuntary recollection seems to have crossed his mind of the exertions which had been made by his party, in conjunction with the old royalists, to recover the crown of Charles from the republican regicides ; and he seems to have felt deeply, now the crown was actually restored, that the Presbyterians were deserted by their late allies, only to be exposed to harassing prosecutions for non-conformity. “ Once,” he exclaimed in an abrupt and random digression from the subject of his discourse, “ a crown falling into a river, one dives for it, and having recovered it, sets, it upon his head and swims to the land with it. The King takes his crown, rewards the man, but cuts off his head.” Mr Heyrick then sarcastically alluded to what he judged to be a captious spirit in his adversaries, when he related that “ a citizen who said he would make his son heir to the crown,—meaning his house, that known by the sign of the crown,—lost his life for it.”—But, checking himself, he concluded this part of his commentary by remarking, that “ Joash wore the crown, but that Athaliah (the usurper) was crushed to pieces by it.”

The King takes the testimony into his hand. On this head, the warden observed that David accounted more of the testimony than of the crown ; that the crown was on David’s head, but that the testimony was engraven on his heart. “ It was not the sceptre,” continued Mr Heyrick, in a most emphatic passage of

his sermon, "It was not the sceptre that he took in his hand, the emblem which shows his power to give laws, but the testimony according to which he was to frame the laws. It is a fundamental law of this nation, that, if any law be enacted contrary to the law of God, there needs no repeal of it, but it is null of itself, and people are not bound to the obedience of it."

The King had the anointing oil upon him. Here it was explained, that, as King Jesus was anointed, it was the anointing that fitted him to be a King ; and that while Kings had this oil on their breasts, the testimony in their hand, the crown on their head, and while they lived among their people, that King could not but be glorious,—that people could not but be a blessed, a happy people !

In the last place, Mr Heyrick described the share which the people had in the coronation ; and it was here that he most insisted upon the divine right of Kings to their crowns in despite of the opposition of the people.

"The third party," he observed, "was the people ; and of them it is said, *they made him King ; they clapped their hands ; they said, GOD SAVE THE KING,—LET THE KING LIVE.*"

"First, *they made him King.* He was King before ; but now they acknowledge him to be King. He had the right before, but now they give him the possession. In kingdoms where kings are by succession, there is no interregnum ; for no sooner is the King dead, than his heir is immediately King. The King never dies ! The proclamations that are proclaimed throughout the kingdom and the coronation of him, do but publish him King, and make it known to the people. It is not the representative of the people, neither in Senates nor Parliaments,—it is not in the collective body to make kings ;—Kings are kings, though the whole people oppose it : but it adds much to the honour, to the glory, to the renown, to the peace, to the strength, to the comfort of kings, when all the people owns him, acknowledgeth him, submits, swears obedience to him.—This was the first part,—*they made him King.*"

"Secondly, *They clapped their hands :*" On this head Mr Heyrick remarked little more than, according to the Hebrew custom, it was a visible expression of their great joy.

"Thirdly," continued the preacher, "they said, GOD SAVE THE KING. In other places we read they shouted ; they shouted with a great shout ; they shouted with a loud shout ; they shouted that the earth rang again ! God sometimes calls upon his people to shout. The Jews upon several occasions of joy, they expressed their joy by shouting ; but whenever they shouted, they gave the greatest shout at the coronation of a king : hence it is said, by way of eminency, (*Numb. xxiii. 21.*)

THE SHOUT OF A KING IS AMONGST THEM ! And what did they shout ? These words, GOD SAVE THE KING ; or, as it is in the Hebrew, LET THE KING LIVE !” They did not drink healths to the life of the King, or to the confusion of his enemies. (Esth. i. 8.) Great Ahasuerus, the Heathen king, in his greatest festivals, expressly forbid it ; nor hath the Church of God any such custom. Yea, they did not only pray, LET THE KING LIVE, but they took out of the way what might shorten the life of the King ; that might make God an adversary to him : they rooted out idolatry ; they brake down the altars and image of Baal in pieces ; they slew Mattan, the chief priest of Baal : yea, more, Jehoiada made a covenant before the Lord, and the King, and the people, that they should be the Lord’s people ; that the King should give protection to them, and they obedience to him !”

After this evident allusion to what God might require from the King towards exterminating popish idolatry, Mr Heyrick announced that he had finished commenting upon the parts and parcels of the text, which, joining their forces together, commended unto them this reasonable observation ; that the restoration and coronation of a king was a matter of great joy and rejoicing to a loyal and religious people, or rather, that the King’s restoration and coronation was the people’s triumph and glory.

He likewise added, that, besides what was said of the people in the text, he found two things more which they did : They praised God for the King’s restoration and coronation, and they praised the King. Each of these duties he urged as binding upon all who heard him.

“ Be exhorted on this day of the King’s coronation,” he continued, “ to PRAISE God, to give God the glory and honour of it. Bless God that we have a King. The shout of a King is a joyful shout. Better any thing than an anarchy ;—better *any* one a king, than *every* one a king. I remember the cry of the beasts in the fable, when they were in consultation to submit themselves to the lion, as to their king. Some alleged he would do what he pleased, upon which they all cried, better one lion do so, than all the bears, and wolves, and wild beasts of the forest.—Secondly, Bless God that our King is not by election, but by succession ; no invader, no usurper ; no conqueror, no alien or stranger ; not one, whose speech we understand not ; but a King lineally descended from Kings of the race royal for many hundreds of years ; who hath an undoubted right to be King. BLESSED ART THOU, O LAND, WHEN THY KING IS THE SON OF NOBLES, THE SON OF KINGS.—Thirdly, Bless God that our King is peaceably restored to us ; that the people generally and universally receive him for King. There were

great thoughts of heart, because of the division of King and subjects. It was given out concerning Queen Elizabeth, that when she died, clouds of blood did hang in the air : but God brought in King James peaceably, and made him a peace-maker. It was above our faith, above our hopes ; yet in duty we prayed, that our King might peaceably be restored unto us. It is observed no less than miraculous, when God brought his people Israel out of Egypt, that no dog opened his mouth :—it was in the dark time of night, there was great noise and tumult, yet no dog barked when the King was restored unto us ! It was as it was in Heaven for a time,—great silence : all men's mouths were stopped, and the King peaceably and joyfully restored !—Fourthly, Bless God that we have not only a King, but a race and succession of Kings ! God preserved the Royal Family, as the three children in the fiery furnace, so that no hair of their head was singed. You see what great cause we have to praise God : NOT UNTO US O LORD, NOT UNTO US, BUT UNTO THY NAME BE THE GLORY. NOT BY MIGHT, NOT BY POWER, BUT BY MY SPIRIT, SAITH THE LORD OF HOSTS.”

On the remaining duty which was obligatory upon the People of Israel, Mr Heyrick lastly commented :—*They praised the King.* “ Give then,” he concluded, “ the praises due unto him ! Praise him for his invincible patience and forbearance ! Praise him for his act of indemnity and pardon ! Praise him for restoring the rights, the liberties of the Church ! Praise him for establishing truth and judgment ! Never had King greater provocation, greater temptation ; yet he hath conquered himself, which is more than if, with Alexander, he had conquered the whole world. He is even more than a conqueror,—a triumpher ; not over men's bodies, but over their hearts, their souls, their spirits ! Shout and cry aloud, and let Heaven and Earth echo it back again, GOD SAVE THE KING ! Let the King live !—God save the King,—they are the last words of my text, and they shall be the last of my sermon ;—and let all the people shout it out with a loud shout, GOD SAVE THE KING.”

The impression which Mr Heyrick's sermon made upon his congregation was very great, and was not effaced by subsequent rejoicings.

The festivities which afterwards occurred are related as follows :—

“ After sermon, from the church marched in order, the boroughreeve, constables, and the rest of the burgesses of the town, not then in arms, accompanied by Sir Ralph Assheton, knight and baronet, and divers neighbouring gentlemen of quality, together with the said Warden and Fellows of the said college, and divers other ministers, with the town musick playing before them upon loud instru-

ments, through the streets to the cross, and so forward to the conduit, officers and soldiers in their order. The gentlemen and officers then drank his Majesty's health in claret running forth at three streams at once out of the said conduit, which was answered from the soldiers by a great volley of shot, and many great shouts, saying God save the King ; which being ended, the gentry and ministers went to dinner, attended with the officers and music of the town, the auxiliaries dining at the same place. During the time of dinner, and until after sunset, the said conduit did run with pure claret, which was freely drunk by all that could, for the crowd came so near the same.

“ After an hour, or something more, spent in dinner, the drums did beat, and the soldiers marched into the field again, giving three great vollies, and making the country therewith to echo ; and from thence through several streets, bringing the aforesaid Major Byron to his own house, where making an halt, the Major began his Majesty's health in sack to the officers ; the soldiers standing in rank and file, wholikewise drank the same, and echoed it with several vollies and acclamations of joy. So from the major's house round about Salford, firing and shouting all along, and at the door of the major's ensign's house, another halt was made, and the companies were drawn up in single file around the street, and freely entertained with sack and claret. Returning thanks with vollies of shot and great shouts, they marched back into the town, and, after some few vollies and shouts, were taken up with rain, and thereby prevented from marching. Bonfires being in every street, the bells continued ringing night and day, some fire-works running upon cords the length of one hundred yards, and so back again, with crackers in the air ; which sport continued till almost midnight. But the spectators were much disappointed by the rain, all the day being very clear and glorious.

“ Bonfires were burning above a week ; unto which, suffer me to add these ensuing lines : that after Captain Mosley had received intelligence of the joyful, glorious, and prosperous carrying on of the day at London, without prejudice in that concourse, (being honoured with the brightness of the sun unto which day the heavens gave testimony of their assent) he did, upon the first of May, march his company into the field, and there, in the middle of them, being drawn round, made a learned speech, declaring the goodness of God to this nation in the happy restoring his Majesty to his just right and privilege beyond all expectations of man ; using arguments of obedience and grounds of thanks for his Majesty's preservation, and praying for his Majesty's long and happy reign over these nations. All the people then cried, God save the King.—His speech was not long, only I say he made a speech.

“ This ended, the company as before, with the young boys, marched into the town, and were civilly entertained by Dr Haworth, and others of their mark, and being drawn up at the cross and thereabout, all bare-headed, drunk his Majesty’s health in sack and claret, at the charge of Mr Halliwell, giving a volley and shout. Then marching through several streets, still firing and rejoicing until the evening, they lodged their colours ; discharging the company until the 29th of May instant, being his Majesty’s birth-day and the day of his glorious return to Whitehall, which is intended with thankfulness and all manner of rejoicing to be observed.”

After these festivities had passed away as an idle show, the loyal sermon which Mr Heyrick had preached pressed strongly upon the recollection of the town. Most parties pronounced the discourse to be orthodox. The old Royalists applied to the warden for a copy of it, with the secret intention, however, that it should be printed as a memorial of the joint return in one day of loyalty to the pulpit, and of the right heir of the kingdom to his throne ; and upon their request being complied with, sent it to the press, accompanied with an address to the author of professed panegyric, but which in reality was not wholly unmixed with a sneer at hearing sentiments delivered, which they conceived to be opposite to those which the warden would have enforced at the commencement of the civil war. At the same time, they gave full credit to their own consistency of conduct, in boasting that, “ though darkness had covered the surface of their church, and had seized upon some persons, yet that they had still kept the light within themselves unextinct.” The epistle prefixed to the sermon was as follows :

To the Reverend RICHARD HEYRICK, Warden of Christ’s Colledge, in Manchester.

REVEREND SIR,

Of those Truths you have frequently delivered to us, this one, which you preached to our eares upon that happy and joyous day of his Majestie’s Coronation, which is not of the smallest concernment, a Truth, which with the King hath been an Exile, and banisht both the Pulpit and the Presse in this land for many yeares together ; but since both are returned together home ; the one to the Throne, the other to the Pulpit ; the one Crowned, the other preached, both on a day ; we judged it worthy the Press, whereby it might better manifest it self to the world, that as at the presence and sight of his Maiestie’s Sacred Person, all his enemies flie and fall before him, so at the approach of this light, the grosse

mists of errors and contrary tenents, which have possessed this Island of late yeares, might be dispelled and utterly confounded. Necessary also we judged it, in respect of us sonnes of the Church of England, to vindicate our selves, that, though darkness might cover the surface of our Church, and seize upon some persons, yet we still kept this light within us unextinct, the doctrine of our Church we still retain, and we who are souldiers will fight for his Maiestie, in defence thereof to the last drop of our blood; nor was it fit the Herauld and Proclaimer of this doctrine should be concealed and unknown, therefore passeth it under your name. Pardon us wherein we have acted without full directions from you; it was our love and zeal to the Truth, and to you the Preacher of it, that caused this forwardnesse in us. Sir, the Town in general, we more particularly who were further Actors in the solemnization of the day, are obliged to you for your great paines: And to testifie our gratitude for so great a favour, thought good to send them both together abroad into the world, your paines, with our unfeined thanks, affixed thereto, who in the name of our selves, and the rest of our souldiers under our command, do subscribe our selves,—SIR, Your affectionate Neighbours and well-wishers,

John Byrom, Major of the Trained
Band,
John Cawsey, Lieut.
Hugh Johnson, Ensign,

Nicholas Mosley, Captain of the Aux-
liaries,
William Hewwood, Lieut.
William Byrom, Ensign.

Manchester, May 11, 1661.

The reflection which this epistle dedicatory conveyed, was, however, in most respects misplaced. Mr Heyrick, as it has been stated, made no compromise whatever to the changed aspect of the times, and no new light came with him into the pulpit upon the occasion of the King's coronation. If he had ever preached resistance against his late sovereign, it was upon the principle, from which he had never once swerved, and which he continued to maintain, that, if the King enforced any law contrary to that of God, every good subject was not only absolved from obedience to it, but might even resist any power which would betray him into an unholy act. Mr Heyrick's great error was, that his chief, if not sole charge against his late sovereign was, for conniving at the introduction into the realm of idolatry, by not enforcing the utmost rigour of the penal laws against Papists; and hence his great boast for the share which his Manchester flock had in the rebellion, namely, that

there existed seven thousand men in Israel that would not bow down their knees to Baal.^a

But the period was at length arrived when the old Royalists ceased to make any distinction between those who first took up arms against the King, and those who brought him to the scaffold.^a When the King, who at the conference at Breda had expressed himself with much caution about granting an indemnity against the republicans, and asked for vengeance upon certain of his father's destroyers, which was granted,^b the royalists, by a natural kind of retrospect, directed the King to look to the origin of the rebellion. Afterwards Lord Clarendon joined in the denunciation ; taking advantage of an insurrection of the Millenarians against the existing government, though the rise was inconsiderable, and without the concert of any other religious party,^c and proposing to a new Parliament, where the Royalists had become the strong and popular side, that vigorous measures should be

^a It is quite evident, from the epistle dedicatory to Mr Heyrick's sermon, that the discourse was printed without his authority ; nor is it improbable that its circulation was afterwards suppressed, as it is the scarcest of all the Manchester pamphlets which have ever yet been published. A copy was once in my possession ; but having gone from my hands on the representation that it might assist a late eminent writer in drawing up a history of the civil wars in Lancashire, it disappeared for ever. In Mr Heywood's collections the sermon is not to be found ; and, after being advertised for in vain by the active publishers of this work, it was found to exist in the British Museum, from which a copy was promptly obtained, whence the present extracts have been made. The pamphlet is entitled " A Sermon preached at the Collegiate Church, Manchester, on Tuesday the 23d of April 1661, being the coronation day of his Royal Majesty Charles II. By Richard Heyrick, warden of the said Colledge. London : Printed for Ralph Shelmerdine, book-seller in Manchester.

^a Mr Lenthall, Speaker of the Parliament in the year 1660, was the first who, in order to show the sincerity of his repentance, said, that he who first drew his sword against the late King, committed as great an offence as he that cut off his head. For this expression he was brought to the bar, and received from the new speaker, who was his successor, a most severe reprimand.

^b In the year 1660, there was an act for the attainder of several persons guilty of the horrid murder of the late King, and for the perpetual solemn observance of the 30th of January. In the month of October of this year ten persons were executed.

^c On the 6th of January 1661, there was an insurrection of fifty men well armed, who, in expectation of a fifth monarchy under the personal reign of King Jesus upon earth, resolved to subvert the present constitution, or die in the attempt. A proclamation was accordingly made, forbidding all fifth monarchy men, and even quakers and anabaptists, to assemble under pretence of worshipping God, except in some parochial church or chapel. Many, however, still attempted to meet, and even suffered imprisonment for their perseverance. At length they petitioned the King, that the innocent might not suffer with the guilty, and received a gracious promise, that, if they lived peaceably, they should not incur penalties for their opinions.

adopted to repress the dangerous spirit of the Presbyterians and other sects. On this occasion he denounced the Presbyterians as seditious preachers, who, by broaching the self-same doctrines they had taught in the year 1640, sufficiently declared that they had no inclination that a term of twenty years should put an end to the miseries which they had caused; concluding, that, if the Parliament did not provide for the thorough quenching of these firebrands, Kings, lords, and commons would be their meanest subjects, and the whole kingdom be kindled into a general flame. In Manchester and its vicinity this spirit prevailed more than perhaps in any other town of the kingdom; but for this reason, that the Royalists, for their long attachment to the royal cause, had suffered proportionally in their estates.^d Hence there required little inducement with them to bring down their earlier and later enemies to the same level. Accordingly, the common term of obloquy, now familiar to us, of "Down with the rump," which had been originally used alike by the Presbyterians and the old Cavaliers, to show their abhorrence of the mean republican Parliament, was revived in this as well as other towns, to signify, that Presbyterians and republicans were merely varieties from one common stock. How far this imputation was just is readily determined by the slightest appeal to the annals of the civil wars. In Manchester, where the Presbyterian party was numerous, its effects were pernicious in the extreme. Indeed, during nearly a century and a half it has imparted additional acrimony to political and religious feelings, the term being scarcely obsolete at the present day.

After this time we must regard the Episcopalian party as in greater or less hostility to Presbyterians and other non-conformists, and as disposed to retaliate upon their former enemies for all the adversities which the church and the crown, during a long and eventful period, had sustained. Even the King himself was induced to partake of the sentiment, and, with the royal concurrence, the solemn covenant was declared illegal, and ordered to be burnt by the public executioner. Reports were at the same time spread abroad of a general insurrection throughout the whole kingdom, which caused the King to recommend to Parliament that proper remedies be provided against divers wicked instruments who laboured night and day to disturb the public peace; and, as many non-conformists of all descriptions held offices in the various corporation towns of England, an act appeared, named the corporation act, rendering it penal for any one to hold an office of

^d The family, for instance, of the Prestwiches of Hulme, who originally possessed one of the largest estates of Lancashire, was, by loans to the late King, repeated sequestrations, &c. nearly reduced to a state of ruin.

magistracy; or other place or trust, without declaring that it was not lawful, upon any pretence whatever, to take up arms against the King, and without abjuring, as an unlawful oath, the solemn league and covenant. By this act the Presbyterians and other non-conformists were expelled from every branch of magistracy.^c

From the date, then, of this ordinance, we may consider the Presbyterians as entering upon a series of sufferings for their religion, and, as such, entitled to our commiseration. But on what plea could they themselves have asked for our sympathy? Did they not, when in the zenith of their power, and as public sequestrators, themselves doom individuals who refused to take the national covenant to ruinous fines, and, in default thereof, to the common jails of the country? And could it at the time have been wholly forgotten, that Mr Heyrick, in an address penned with his own hand, and signed by all the leading Presbyterian ministers of Lancashire to the number of eighty-four, expressed a detestation of toleration, as uncountenanced by the laws of God, and injurious to all the churches of Christ throughout the whole world? "We have searched the Scriptures," said these divines in their address of the year 1648 to their parishioners, "and looked as impartially as we could into those authentic records, and yet we cannot find that ever such a thing as toleration was practised with approbation from God, from the time that Adam was created upon the earth unto the sealing up of the sacred volume, the ceasing

^c The act was entitled, "An Act for the well-governing and regulation of corporations." It ordered, "that within the several cities, boroughs, cinque ports, and other port towns within the Kingdom of England, dominion of Wales, and town of Berwick-on-Tweed, all mayors, aldermen, recorders, bailiffs, town-clerks, common council-men, and other persons bearing any office or offices of magistracy, or places, or trusts, or other employment relating to or concerning the government of the said respective cities, corporations, and boroughs, and cinque ports, and their members, and other port towns, should take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and this oath following:—"I, A. B., do declare and believe, that it is not lawful, upon any pretence whatsoever, to take arms against the King; and that I do abhor that traitorous position of taking arms by his authority against his person, or against those that are commissioned by him." It likewise enacted, that they should also subscribe the following declaration:—"I, A. B., do declare, that there lies no obligation upon me from the solemn league and covenant, and that the same was an unlawful oath imposed on the subject against the laws and liberties of the kingdom."—The last article of the act ran as follows:—"Provided also, and be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that no person shall hereafter be elected, or chosen into any of the offices or places aforesaid, that shall not have within one year next before such election or choice taken the sacrament of the Lord's supper, according to the rites of the Church of England; and that every person so elected shall take the aforesaid oaths, and subscribe the said declaration at the same time when the oath for the due execution of the said places and offices shall be respectively administered."

of visions and all new divine revelations.”—“Add yet further, that a toleration would be an appointing a city of refuge in men’s consciences for the Devil to fly to; a proclaiming liberty to the wolves to come into Christ’s fold to prey upon his lambs; a toleration of soul-murder, (the greatest murder of all other,) and for the establishing whereof, damned souls in hell would accurse men on earth.”^f

But in citing the Presbyterians as at length become themselves the victims of an intolerant spirit, which they had but lately vindicated in language only worthy the darkest period of Rome itself, it is notwithstanding impossible to offer any defence of the prosecutions now undertaken against them by their adversaries, in defiance of an engagement first suggested by the Christian principle of forgiveness of injuries, into which both parties had entered,—that all mutual grievances and recriminations should be forgotten in the joyful event of the King’s restoration.

After these general remarks, we may advert to the causes which led to the act of uniformity; as they are necessary to be known in connection with the history of the ejections which took place in the parish of Manchester.

The conference of bishops and Presbyterian ministers, which, by his Majesty’s command, was held at the Savoy, in order to endeavour, by a review of the book of common prayer and other matters, to restore the amity of the church, was completely unsuccessful. A very fruitless discussion, embittered with much acrimony, ensued, no concessions being made on either side.^g Such a dubious and indecisive state of the English church could not, however, be permanent. After the Savoy conference had broken up, a convocation of bishops and other clergy, which had been appointed by the King, reviewed the book of prayer, and made numerous minor alterations in it, few of which were considered satisfactory by the Presbyterians, who even complained, that, because two new holy days were added, namely,

^f I am sorry that this declaration, attributed in the non-conformist’s memorial to Mr Heyrick, has not been described in its proper place; having but lately been put into my hands by Mr Heywood. It far exceeds any other that I have yet seen for the persecuting spirit it breathes;—but this document will be further noticed in the Appendix. It was published as the harmonious consent of the ministers of Lancashire with their reverend brethren the ministers of London.

^g The Savoy conference is alleged by ecclesiastical writers to have given rise to much sophistry and metaphysical disputation, mixed with general loose discourse and no good result. Baxter and Gunning, says Burnet, spent several days in logical arguing to the diversion of the town, who looked upon them as a couple of fencers engaged in a dispute that could not be brought to an end. It was agreed at the conclusion, that each party might represent to his Majesty that they were unanimous upon the ends of the conference, which was the church’s welfare, unity and peace, but were still disagreed as to the means of procuring it.

for the conversion of St Paul and for St Barnabas, and because another apocryphal lesson was introduced, as the story of Bel and the Dragon, the terms of uniformity were rendered much harder than before the civil war.^a The liturgy being thus in some degree altered, Lord Clarendon and his party were determined to enforce in all churches and chapels an observance to it, and therefore prepared what was called, “an act for the uniformity of public prayers and administration of sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies, and for establishing the forms of making, ordaining, and consecrating bishops, priests, and deacons in the church of England.” This act enforced a precept of Queen Elizabeth, that there should be an uniform order of common service and prayer to be used throughout the realm; that every one holding a sacred office, and that even every common schoolmaster, should, before the feast of Bartholomew 1662, on pain of deprivation, declare his unfeigned consent to every thing contained in the book of common prayer and administration of sacraments, the psalter, the form and manner of making, ordaining, and consecrating of bishops, priests, and deacons, together with all other rites and ceremonies of the church, according to the use of the church of England. The act also proposed, that every ecclesiastical person and schoolmaster should declare that there lay no obligation upon him from the oath named the solemn league and covenant, to endeavour any change or alteration of government either in church or state; and that the same was in itself an unlawful oath, and imposed upon the subjects of the realm, against the known laws and liberties of the kingdom;—Lastly, that if any minister had not been episcopally ordained, he should undergo reordination, and take an oath of canonical obedience.

But to the final passing of this bill there was the king’s objection to combat, which chiefly lay on the grounds of the profession he had made at Breda of re-

^a The alterations made on this occasion consisted in the rubrick for singing psalms being omitted; in the omission of several collects which were complained of, and the substitution of others; in communicants to the Lord’s Supper being enjoined to previously signify their names to the curate; in cautious regulations respecting baptism and the administration of the sacrament to the sick; and in the omission of apocryphal lessons on Sundays. Innumerable verbal alterations also, none of which were of material signification, took place in the different rubricks relative to the exhortation delivered at the communion, the prayer of consecration, the form of matrimony, the burial of the dead, the churching of women, &c. &c. Several more forms of prayer were likewise composed, as one which was to be used at sea, one for the thirtieth of January, and another for the twenty-ninth of May; besides for two new holidays, as for the conversion of St Paul and for St Barnabas. Some apocryphal lessons were lastly appended, though not to be read on the Sabbath, as the story of Bel and the Dragon, &c.

ligious indulgence. But it was replied, that it would be strange to call a schismatical conscience a tender conscience ; that the declaration had two limitations which exempted his Majesty from any breach of promise, namely, a reference to Parliament, and " so far as was consistent with the peace of the kingdom." Charles, however, yielded to the solicitation of the bishops upon other grounds, namely, those which were advanced by his secret Popish advisers. It has been properly remarked of the leading Papists of this period, that they possessed two maxims ; one of which was to keep themselves united, and to promote a general toleration or a general persecution ; while the other was to divide the Protestants as much as possible among themselves. They therefore argued, that, as the act of uniformity would make the dissenters more considerable in number, it would proportionally render a toleration more necessary, in which the Papists would come in for a share. Charles yielded to these arguments, and gave his consent to the act. Suspicions, however, having arisen, owing to many Romish priests having been liberated from the gaols of Lancaster, Newgate, and other places, that the King was a concealed Papist, he was made to obviate the report by declaring, that he consented to the act from his great love for the hierarchy and the book of common-prayer ; disclaiming at the same time any charge that could properly lie against him of being a proselyte to the church of Rome.

After the act of uniformity had been thus resolved upon, the king's council looked with anxiety for the effect which it would have upon the nation at large. The chief cause of apprehension arose from the popular influence which many of the Presbyterian ministers still possessed, and the resistance which might ensue when congregations beheld their favourite preachers dispossessed of their pulpits. To propitiate, therefore, these leaders, prebends, deaneries, and even bishopricks were offered to them, so that they would conform to the conditions imposed in the act. But these offers were fruitless. It was, for instance, considered, that Mr Heyrick had for many years been one of the most popular ministers in Lancashire, and that the removal of him from the church of Manchester might not be wholly unattended with hazard. A considerable promotion in the church was accordingly tendered to him, but in vain. He refused to abjure the national covenant, to which he had ever possessed himself attached by the most sacred obligations, and upon this, no less than upon other grounds, was inflexible.

St Bartholomew's day at length arrived, on which every minister was obliged to abandon his benefice, or sign such articles as were proposed to him. Accordingly, about two thousand ministers in different parts of the kingdom relinquished their cures. Among the non-conformists of Lancashire Mr Heyrick stood in the first

rank. He promptly refused to subscribe to the terms of the act, and even resisted every attempt to eject him, on the plea, that, as the wardenship of Manchester had been given him as a life-estate in lieu of a treasury debt due from the crown to his family, it was to be considered in the light of a private property secured to his use by the chief magistrate of the nation, and beyond the disposal of Parliament. His colleagues, however, Mr Newcome and Mr Richardson, yielded to the force of the laws, and, like other ejected ministers, began privately to preach to congregations, and kept private fasts. Mr Harrison, one of the leading members of the late Manchester classis, upon being ejected from his church of Ashton-under-line, had the offer made to him by Sir George Boothe, then created for his late services Lord Delamere, to place his son a conforming minister in his room. But this truly conscientious man waved acceptance of it in favour of another individual, conceiving that his son, probably on the score of natural talents, was not warranted in accepting a charge of such responsibility.

But although the ejections were numerous that took place in Lancashire, they were notwithstanding much less than what occurred in other counties. This was chiefly owing to the prudent forbearance of Dr Wilkins, the amiable Bishop of Chester. By this prelate many informations were discharged, and several ministers liable to ejection met with indulgence. Mr Tilsley, for instance, a friend of Mr Heyrick, was permitted to preach in his church as lecturer, another clergyman being sanctioned as vicar, who read the prayers. Mr Angier of Denton, late of the Manchester classis, refused, like the warden, to quit his church, of which he had been the pastor the greatest share of his life. In this case the bishop's forbearance was countenanced by the justices, who, in their respect for the venerable character of the minister, only replied to the complaints preferred against him, "Let him alone, he is an old man and cannot live long: let him alone while he lives." Dr Wilkins, again, would affectionately inquire, "How doth the good old man, Mr Angier?"

But to return to the warden.—When his resistance to the laws, and refusal to be ejected was announced to the King's council, great indignation was excited, and his majesty was persuaded to nominate a Dr Woolley to the wardenship, to which the royal consent was given. But at the remonstrance of Mr Heyrick's great friend at court, the Earl of Manchester, who was then Lord Chamberlain, the nomination was subsequently revoked. The impolicy was no doubt urged of resorting to extreme measures with one who had for many years been held up as the most distinguished champion of the Presbyterian, and subsequently of the

royal cause, in Lancashire. It was also perhaps considered that, if Mr Heyrick's wardenship, which he possessed in lieu of a debt of the crown, was taken from him, redress might lie against the royal treasury, which could ill afford to discharge the demand. And thus the imprudence of ejecting a clergyman, who was in other respects enthusiastically attached to the interests of the King, becoming self-evident, Mr Heyrick was, upon his own terms, confirmed in the possession of his church and college.

After the act of uniformity had been in effect about two years, the King's council began to take into consideration the numerous private congregations under the pastoral charge of the ejected ministers, which met for divine worship. These congregations they considered as secretly undermining the established church; and to suppress them was the object of another act, dated the 16th of March 1664, which declared, that, if five persons above the number of which a family was composed, assembled for any exercise of religion, such offenders should be liable for the first offence to three months' imprisonment, and for the second to six months' imprisonment, or to pay a fine of L. 10; but that for the third offence they should pay the sum of L. 100, or, in default thereof, be transported to the colonies for seven years. By this measure the non-conformists were rendered utterly incapable of gaining any livelihood by their spiritual profession. But it is related of Mr Newcome of Manchester, that "when he could preach no longer, he wrote many excellent papers upon practical subjects, and dispersed them among his late flock, who contributed freely towards his maintenance, and took great care of him and his."

Many indictments against dissenting ministers now took place in Lancashire. The quakers gloried in their sufferings, several of them being imprisoned, and others sent to the plantations. But, great as were the adversities of the non-conformists, they were not yet complete. The King's council, finding that the influence of the ejected ministers over their late flocks was still considerable, endeavoured to obviate it, by framing what was named the Oxford or Five-mile Act, by which it was ordained, that no minister or schoolmaster who had not renounced the covenant and taken the oath of submission, should dwell within five miles of the place where he had taught or preached, or within five miles of any corporation town, or town whatever, that sent burgesses to Parliament, under a penalty of L. 40, or six months' imprisonment; all such non-conformists, in the meantime, to be prohibited engaging in the profession of a public or private schoolmaster.¹ By this act fresh

¹ This act was entitled an act to restrain non-conformists from inhabiting corporation towns; the

imprisonments took place, and many ejected ministers were reduced to extreme indigence. There was, however, a slight flaw in the ordinance, of which several ministers throughout different parts of Lancashire availed themselves. The framers of it, in erroneously supposing that every town of consequence possessed a corporation, or sent members to Parliament, were little aware that Manchester, the strong-hold of non-conformists, could boast of nothing more than a boroughreeve chosen in the lord of the manor's court, who was the guardian of its peace, and that it was even unrepresented in the House of Commons. As this town, therefore, possessed a greater dissenting population than most others in the kingdom, and could even boast a collegiate church at the head of which was a tolerated non-conformist warden, it became the common refuge of many ejected ministers of Lancashire, to the exclusion only of Mr Newcome, who, because he had been a regular preacher at Manchester, became liable to that clause in the act, by which he was obliged to remove at a distance of five miles from any place whatever wherein his conventicle was situated. He notwithstanding lingered in the town, his many private virtues securing him from being an object of prosecution. Being blest with a candid and generous temper, with a conversation, described as at once, "ingenious, innocent, facetious, and instructive," with a deportment grave, yet

preamble to which sets forth, "That divers persons, and others in Holy Orders, not having subscribed the act of uniformity, have taken upon them to preach in unlawful assemblies, and to instil the poisonous principles of schism and rebellion into the hearts of his Majesty's subjects, to the great danger of the church and the kingdom. Be it therefore enacted, that all such non-conformist ministers shall take the following oath:—'I, A. B., do swear, that it is not lawful, upon any pretence whatsoever, to take arms against the King; and that I do abhor that traitorous position of taking arms by his authority, against his person, or against those that are commissioned by him, in pursuance of such commissions; and that I will not at any time endeavour any alteration of government either in church or state.' And all such non-conformist ministers shall not, after the 24th of March 1665, unless in passing the road, come, or be within five miles of any city, town corporate, or borough, that sends burgesses to Parliament; or within five miles of any parish, town, or place wherein they have, since the act of oblivion, been parson, vicar, or lecturer, &c, or where they have preached in any conventicle, on any pretence whatsoever, before they have taken and subscribed the above said oath before the Justices of Peace, at their quarter session for the county, in open court:—upon forfeiture, of every such offence, of the sum of forty pounds, one-third to the King, another third to the poor, and a third to him that shall sue for it. And it is further enacted, that such as shall refuse the oath aforesaid shall be incapable of teaching any public or private schools, or of taking any boarders or tablers to be taught or instructed, under pain of forty pounds, to be distributed as above. Any two justices of peace, upon oath made before them, of any offence committed against this act, are empowered to commit the offender to prison for six months, without bail or mainprize."

obliging, he had won the forbearance and friendship of those who were the most opposed to his principles, as a non-conformist. "A most sincere and inartificial humility," says his biographer, "at once hid and adorned his other excellencies. His moderation was known unto all men that ever knew or heard of him. He had both a large charity and a great veneration for those that differed from him, if they were men of worth, and unblameable in their lives. They can testify this, that knew what a fair and amicable correspondence he maintained with many of the conforming clergy, to several of whom this good man's name was perhaps as precious, and his society as grateful, as if he had been one of their own stamp."

Of the ministers who had screened themselves from the force of the Oxford act by an abode in the unrepresented and unincorporate town of Manchester, little need be said. Among these was the Reverend Mr Holbrook, who became the son-in-law of Mr Heyrick. He was a native of Manchester, of great learning, having taken the degree of Master of Arts in Trinity College, Cambridge. Upon being deprived of his living, he had begun to pursue the study of medicine, which he was in the end enabled to practice with great success and profit. There was also a Mr Richard Goodwin of Emanuel College, Cambridge, who is said to have lived retired and studied chemistry, wherein he was a great proficient. They selected Salford for their residence, where they spent their days in quietude, diligently attending the divine services of the warden, to whom they felt, as the ancient champion of their cause, an affectionate attachment; while he, in return, contributed greatly from his temporal means to the necessities of his suffering brethren.

At this period Mr Heyrick was becoming advanced in years; and his wardenship, which had commenced during one of the most turbulent periods of English history, was fast drawing to a natural close. On the 6th of August 1667, at the age of sixty-seven, he died in the bosom of his affectionate family.^a

^a Regarding the descendants of Mr Heyrick, the following account is to be found in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1793, (Vol. lxiii. Part 1st, p. 307.)—Richard Heyrick, the third son of Sir William Heyrick of Beaumanor in the county of Leicester, was born September 9th, 1660.

He married Helen, daughter of Thomas Corbet of Sprauston, in the county of Norfolk, by whom he had Thomas, born September 9th, 1632; Mary, married to Mr John Johnson of Manchester; Elizabeth, married to the Reverend Richard Holbrook of Salford.

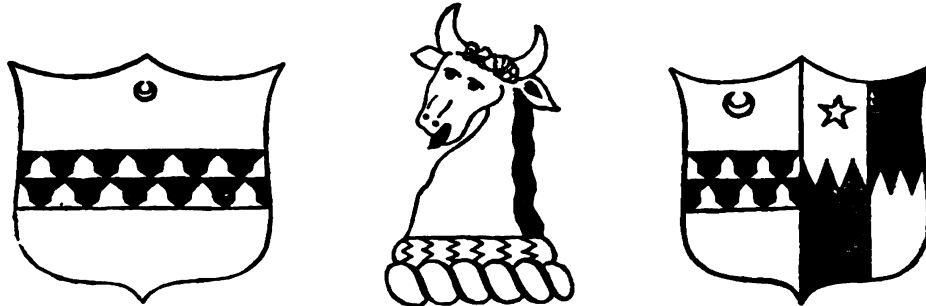
His second wife was Anna Maria, daughter of Mr Erasmus Bretton, merchant of Hamburg. By her he had John, born 1652, who died young, and Helen, married to Thomas Radcliffe, Esq.

Of the public life and character of this warden, little remains to be added. It must strike every one, that, with the deadly enmity professed by this fearless minister of Christ to the Roman Catholic religion, and, with the attachment evinced by him to the liturgy of the Church of England, which no subsequent espousal of Presbyterian principles could succeed in supplanting, Mr Heyrick had lived a century at least too late. If he had been the contemporary of a Ridley, a Latimer, or a Cranmer, his sanguine disposition would have led him to vie with the most renowned of the English champions, who were in array against the Church of Rome, for a glorious crown of martyrdom. But amidst the conflicting interests of church and state which distracted the reign of Charles the First, his exertions were fatally ill-timed and misplaced. The King's cause, which was originally nothing more than a question of privileges involving the civil liberty of the subject, was made a pretext for carrying on a war of avowed extermination against the Papists of Lancashire, and for sacrificing to this most wanton and unprovoked assault, the best blood, and the dearest interests of the county.

As no part, however, of Mr Heyrick's public conduct could be referred to views of personal aggrandisement, to avarice, or to any of the sordid motives by which vulgar demagogues are called upon to act important parts during times of political commotion, a strong conscientious feeling often induced him to take a review of his past conduct, and to be himself the severest censor on the question of its correctness. And this constant self-examination was in process of time so effective, that at the close of his ministerial career, he laboured assiduously, and, it is affirmed, not in vain, to restore the peace which had long since fled from his distracted church.

The remains of Warden Heyrick were interred in the chancel of the Collegiate Church of Manchester, near those of the venerable Huntingdon, the first warden. A plain, yet neat, marble monument was raised to his memory by his relict, (a second wife,) wherein, upon a brass plate, is engraved a tribute, though a very questionable one, to his public character. It was drawn up by Mr Thomas Case, a fellow-collegian, who had become endeared to him as a veteran in the cause of the solemn league and covenant.¹

¹ The inscription is at present in a dull and rather illegible state. A copy of it (the most correct I have seen,) has been obligingly communicated by the Rev. C. D. Wray, Chaplain of Christ's College, Manchester, of which I have availed myself.—S. H.



SISTE VIATOR, MORÆ PRETIUM EST ;
 SUB EODEM CIPPO CUM VENERABILI HUNTINGDONO
 PRIMO HUIUS COLLEGII CUSTODE, IACET
 DECIMUS QUARTUS AB EO SUCCESSOR RICHARDUS HEYRICK,
 GULIELMI HEYRICK EQUITIS AURATI FILIUS,
 COLLEGII OMNIUM ANIMARUM APUD OXONIENSES
 SOCIUS OLIM STUDIOSISSIMUS,
 ECCLESIAE DE NORTH REPS, IN AGRO NORFOLCIENSI, DEINDE
 PASTOR FIDISSIMUS,
 HUIUSCE DENIQUE COLLEGII PER TRIGINTA DUOS ANNOS
 (MULTA ALIA ULTRO OBLATA BENEFICIA AVERSATUS,
 HAC SOLA DIGNITATE CONTENTUS)
 CUSTOS, SIVE GUARDIANUS VIGILANTISSIMUS:
 QUI
 IUDICIUM SOLIDUM CUM INGENIO ACUTISSIMO,
 SINGULAREM ZELUM CUM PRUDENTIA EXIMIA,
 GRAVITATEM SUMMAM CUM EGREGIA MORUM SUAVITATE,
 GENERIS NOBILITATEM, NOMINIS CELEBRITATEM, ET QUÆCUNQUE
 MINORES ANIMOS INFLARE SOLENT, CUM HUMILITATE MIRA
 FÆLISSIME TEMPERAVIT;
 INFÆLICES SUI SECULI ERRORES NON EFFUGIT MODO, SED ET STRENUE
 FUGAVIT; PACI INTER OMNES PIOS SUOS PARITER AC
 VICINOS CONCILIANDÆ, PRO SUMMA SAPIENTIA SUA, EO
 SUCCESSU INSUDAVIT, VT INTER NON INFREQUENTES DISSENSUS
 NULLA, VEL MINIMA ESSET, DISSENSIO;
 QUI POSTQUAM ÆTATE SUA INSERVIVIT DEI CONSILIO,
 OBDORMIVIT
 AUG. 6to. AN° DÑI 1667
 ÆTATIS SUÆ 67.
 ABI VIATOR, ET ÆMULARE.

HAC GRATIA AB EXECUTRICE
 ANNA-MARIA CONIUGE CHARISSIMA
 PRIUS IMPETRATA,
 PLENS POSUIT THOMAS CASE
 Συγγενος IN ACADEMIA,
 EX ÆDE ΧΤΙ ALUMNUS,
 ARTIUM MAG. VERBI DEI
 APUD TRINOBANTES MINISTER;
 QUEM IN CONIUNCTISSIMUM CON-
 VICTUS, ET FAMILIARITATIS CON-
 SORTIUM IN ACADEMIA VLTRO
 ADMISIT; ET CUIUS PER QUIN-
 QUAGINTA PROPE ANNOS TANTO
 AMORE FLAGRAVIT, VT EADEM VELLET,
 ET NOLLET; CREDERES UNAM ANIMAM
 IN DUOBUS ESSE DIVISAM.
 I, DECVS: I, NOSTRVM.—SEQVEMVR.

The foregoing epitaph is written in bad taste; divers moral excellencies being attributed to Mr Heyrick, which it is probable he would himself have been the first to disown. A particular objection, for instance, applies to such virtues being awarded to him as solid judgment and surpassing prudence, by means of which he was enabled to avoid the unhappy errors of the times in which he lived! Even the exceeding gravity of character, for which he is complimented, comes in question, when we recollect the ludicrous conceits, which, during his most serious exhortations in the House of God, would unwittingly escape his lips. But if this fulsome flattery meet with our reprobation, we are invited, on the other hand, to cordially acquiesce in the commendation which is paid to the deceased for his suavity of manners; for his disinterestedness with regard to ecclesiastical preferment; and for his notable humility amidst many of those worldly honours and distinctions with which little minds are prone to be inflated.

END OF VOLUME FIRST.

EDINBURGH:
 PRINTED BY JOHN STARR,
Old Assembly Close.

APPENDIX TO VOLUME THE FIRST.

APPENDIX TO THE FIRST VOLUME.

ADDITIONS TO THE INTRODUCTORY MEMOIR ON THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE PARSONAGE AND DEANERY OF MANCHESTER, &c.

IN pages 5 and 6, I have described a most remarkable cave, which was evidently constructed by the Northmen, who took possession of Lancashire and dedicated it to Odin, by which name it is recognized in ancient charters. It is curious that this cave is situated nearly a mile south by west of the site of the ancient Roman castrum of Mancunium. A question has therefore often started up in my mind, whether the ancient settlement inhabited by the Britons prior to, and even since the time of the Romans, was not more distant from the site of Castle-field than Mr Whittaker has supposed?

In reply to this question, I would observe, that the excavation of a Pagan temple out of the soft red sandstone rock which occurs in this site, points to the natural supposition, that human habitations might have been formed after a similar manner. And this I believe to have been the case. A late visit to the continent has confirmed me in the accounts related by Diodorus Siculus, Tacitus, and other ancient writers, that caves were the frequent habitations of our progenitors. But this general remark ought to be received with some qualification. In Italy and France, whole villages of caves, and even baronial mansions and chapels scooped out of soft limestone or tufaceous rocks, may be proved to have been formerly very general. In Britain, these remains are less frequent, owing to the rocks of this country presenting a considerable geological difference, and being composed of much harder materials. One description of rock, however, named by geologists the new Red Sandstone or Red Marle, is easily excavated, and in various districts of Britain has evidently suggested in numerous sites habitations for our early and rude ancestors, examples of which may be cited in Nottingham, Jedburgh, and other places. In Manchester faint traces of these ancient dwellings might some years ago have been detected, but they are now, along with the sacred cave of Ordshall, wholly obliterated. These appearances lead us to suppose that the ancient site of Mancenion, or Manigceastre, as it was named by the Saxons, extended itself in a straggling manner far from the site of the proper Roman castrum at Castle-field. This I believe to be the case, and that it occupied much of the ground which is watered on the west by the Irwell, and on the north by the line of the Medlock at its confluence, including even the site of Hulme, and perhaps stretching a short way thence towards the east. This conjecture is rendered the more probable on account of a grant of land consisting of one carucate, which was early granted by some Thegn

to the church of Manchester, and which, to be useful to the church, would demand a contiguous situation. This is the land still called Kirkman's Hulme.

I ought, however, to state, that, owing to my very long absence from Manchester, I had forgotten much of the geography of the district I have been describing; and, from mistaking the meaning of Mr Whittaker, whom I consulted, I have committed an error in confounding Kirkman's Hulme with Hulme. The following sentence in page 7 ought therefore to be expunged: "In old deeds it (Hulme) is more explicitly named the Kirkman's Hulme."

3. *Original extent of the Parish of Manchester.* Page 7.

An antiquary of no little and deserved eminence, in some friendly strictures upon the introductory memoir of this work, has complained that I have given no clear account of what townships made up the Saxon Parish, and what parishes, if any, were carved out of it, &c.

My critic, whom I much respect, must, however, be informed, that any thing but conjecture upon this point cannot be expected. The charter chest of the Manchester ecclesiastical records, which contained the oldest documents regarding the parish, was stolen away during the time of the Commonwealth, and has disappeared perhaps for ever.—Instead, therefore, of amusing the reader with speculations only, I considered it advisable to merely quote the supposition (for it is nothing more) of Whittaker, as to the earliest Saxon limits of the parish.

From the same channel an ecclesiastical map of the parish has been demanded for a work so splendidly got up. A map of this kind I have not recommended, because the present work is the History of the College rather than of the Parish of Manchester; and to undertake the annals of such spots as Eccles, Didsbury, &c. &c. is a task for which I have as little ambition as leisure. Besides, if the map is to indicate the earliest limits of the parish, it follows from what has been explained, that it would have nearly the same claims to recommendation as a map of Formosa.

I feel much obliged for the remarks, which have led me into an explanation that ought to have been introduced in the body of the work.*

4. *The Rectors of Manchester from A. D. 1299 to 1351.* See Page 27 to 33.

I have lamented the conflicting accounts which I had to discuss relative to the early rectors of Manchester and the dates of their preferment. Since writing my history, the following document was placed in my hands by the publishers. It is drawn up by Dr Ormerod, the excellent historian of Cheshire, having been a communication formerly made by him to Mr William Ford of Manchester, which was put in the hands of the publishers. I am sorry I did not receive it earlier, as I have not at present any leisure to avail myself of it, by embarking anew into the toil of reconciling the discrepancies of an obscure history.

Rectors of Manchester.

John, son of Griffin de Grandison.

1299. Otho de Grandison, priest, presented by the King, on the death of John, son of Griffin the Grandison. H. Mss. 2070, 175. Regm. Walti. Langton. Lichf. fo. 8.

* The interesting question, put by the same critic relative to the question of the date of the same lords in England, suggested by a circumstance related in page 20, I have not had time to consider.

1313. 9. Kal. Feb. John de Korden, (Keurden?) priest; presented by Sir John de la Ware, Kt. *ibid.* p. 176, Regm. Robti. de Rodeswell. Lichf. fo. 57.

1323. Adam de Southwick, clerk, presented by Sir John de la Ware, Kt. *ibid.* 177. 6. Regm. Magri. Galf. Blaston. Lichf. fo. 98. He had a dispensation for absence from his ecclesiastical duties at the instance of Sir William Herle, Kt. *ibid.*

1327. 7. Kal. Sep. John de Claydon, priest, presented by Sir John de la Ware, and was inducted by proxy in the person of Thomas de Wyke. Vacancy occasioned by the death of Adam de Southwick, *ibid.* 177. b. Reg. last mentioned, fo. 103.

1351. 11. Kal. Sep. Thomas de Wyke, presented by Dame Johanna, "Domina de Manchester," widow of Sir John le Ware, Kt. on the death of John de Claydon, *ibid.* p. 180. b. Reg. last mentioned, fo. 129.

Regarding this list, many remarks are suggested, into which I have not time to enter, but shall content myself with the following:

John de Korden, who appears under the date of 1313, is more correctly John de Vorden. He was most probably from the low countries, and not, as I have conjectured in page 29, from Westphalia.

Concerning Thomas de Claydon, Mr Palmer has collected for me the following notice:

"By an Inquisition taken on the eve of the Holy Trinity 21' E 1' (1347) it was found, that John la Warre, at the time of his death, held nothing of the King in capite; but that he held jointly with Jane, his wife, the manor of Woodheved from Henry Earl of Lancaster, by the service of a ninth part of a Knight's fee: that John de Clayton, parson of the Church of Manchester, enfeofed the said John la Warre and Jane of the said manor, to hold to them for their lives; remainder to John la Warre, their son, and heirs of his body; remainder to the right heirs of John, son of Roger la Warre, for ever: that the manor was worth ten pounds yearly: that John la Warre died on the eve of Ascension last; and that Roger, son of John la Warre, was the next heir." [Esc. 21, Ed. 3d. n. 56.]

Lastly, it may be mentioned of this period, that there is an entry in the *Calendarium Inquisitionum post mortem* to the following effect.

8th Henry V. Thomas Pirly.

Mancestr' maner unacum advocacione ecclesie.

5. *The earliest date of the present structure of the Collegiate Church.—See page 38.*

It has been supposed by Mr Hollingworth, who had the opportunity of examining the documents of the charter chest in Manchester before they were conveyed away by Colonel Birch and his commonwealth rabble, that the present Collegiate Church of Manchester was commenced by Thomas Lord de la Ware about the year 1421. Since making this statement on the authority of Hollingworth, I visited Manchester, when Mr Palmer pointed out to me a portion of the church, which, from its style of architecture, made me doubt the date which has been assigned to it. I therefore think that a church might have been commenced on this site before the year 1421, which, like the older church of St Mary (if St Mary's did exist at that time,) was conceived too small for the parish, and that it was proposed to be enlarged. But Mr Palmer's treatise will no doubt settle this point.

CHAPTER I.—THE WARDENSHIP OF JOHN HUNTINGTON, A. D. 1422.

Page 42.

In the document before alluded to of Dr Ormerod, this gentleman has collected the following notice :

" John de Huntynden in Decr' Bacc. was admitted warden of the newly founded College of Mancester on the presentation of Thomas La Warre, Nov. 23, 1422."

In page 43, an incorrect date is given to the time when the manor of Assheton was separated from the seignory and parish of Manchester ;—it took place before the reign of Henry the IIIrd. Compare page 21.

CHAPTER II.—THE WARDENSHIP OF JOHN BOOTH, A. D. 1459 TO 1465.

(See page 46.)

By Mr Palmer of Manchester, I have been favoured with the following extract, relative to John Booth after he was promoted to the see of Exeter. It is copied from Jenkins's History of Exeter :

" 36th, (Bishop,) *John Booth*, a native of *Cheshire*, was elected and consecrated by *Thomas Bouchier*, Archbishop of Canterbury, 22d February 1466. He erected the stately throne for the bishops, in the choir, and, during his residence, governed his diocess with honour ; but, on the unhappy disputes arising between the Earl of *Warwick* and King *Edward IV.*, he removed, for more security, to his own house at *Horsleigh* in *Hampshire*, where he died, in the twelfth year of his prelacy, 5th April 1478 ; and his remains were interred in the church of *St Clement's Danes*, without *Temple-bar London*."

CHAPTER III.—THE WARDENSHIP OF RALPH LANGLEY, A. D. 1465 TO 1481. *(See page 47.)*

Dr Ormerod has collected the following document relative to this warden :

" Ralph Langley, chaplain, was admitted magister sive Custos Coll., &c. 1465, on the presentation of Richard Hattfield and Nicholas Stathom, patrons hac vice, by virtue of a deed of Sir Richard West, Kt."

The above names, which I copied in the text from Mr Greswell's collections, are incorrectly given.

In one of the popular accounts of the wardens which has been published, it is stated, that during Langley's wardenship, that part of the church which is between the pulpit and the steeple was built, the charges of which are said to have amounted to L.28, 13s. 4d. This sum was calculat-

ed in the year 1791 to be equal to L.272, 6s. 8d. of the existing currency. Nor is the amount an improbable one. When we consider the number of materials which were then gifted by the pious to the building of a church, and the labour which was voluntarily bestowed, we cannot wonder that the cost was as small as it is affirmed to have been.

CHAPTER V.—ANNALS OF THE WARDENSHIP OF JAMES STANLEY, THE SECOND OF THAT NAME. (*See page 50.*)

In the work published by Dr Gastrell, Bishop of Chester, during his dispute with Dr Peploe, I find the following notice :—" Anno 1507. It was granted to James Stanley, Bishop of Ely, that he might be created Doctor of Decrees by a cap put on his head by William Archbishop of Canterbury, and Richard Bishop of London, which was performed at or near to London."

CHAPTER VI.—ANNALS OF THE WARDENSHIP OF ROBERT CLIFF, AND OF HIS SUCCESSOR ——— ALDAY.—A. D. 1509 to 1518. (*See page 55 to 58.*)

While I was writing an account of the annals of Richard Cliff, Mr Whatton of Manchester was engaged in collecting some additional particulars regarding the warden, which I presume he has introduced in his History of the Grammar School of this town ;—Cliff having been appointed a visitor of the same.

During the wardenship of Alday, James Stanley, the late warden, and then Bishop of Ely, died at Manchester :

He did end his life in merry Manchester,
And right honourably lieth he buried there.

It is remarkable that in the face of this metrical account of the interment of the Bishop of Ely in Manchester, which was written by a contemporary, and a kinsman, and of a large monumental tomb erected to his memory, antiquaries should have persisted in maintaining that he was buried in the Cathedral Church of Ely. But this question (if it ought ever to have been called one) has been completely set aside by the recent disinterment of the Bishop, a memorandum of which, taken on the spot, is given *literatim* :

" MEM.—The tomb of James Stanley, fourth warden of Manchester College, and Bishop of Ely, was opened on the 15th of June 1812, in the presence of the Reverend C. D. Wray, and Mr Thomas Barritt.

" In order to ascertain whether the body was buried in the tomb above ground, the west corner stone of the tomb was carefully removed, when the tomb was found to be solid, filled up in the middle with stones and mortar, well cemented together. Going then into the little chapel, a hole was made in the ground close to the middle of the tomb, when about a yard below, and

under the tomb, a skeleton was found lying at length, consisting of the two thigh-bones, (twenty inches long,) the four leg-bones, the large leg-bone, sixteen inches long, the two hip-bones, the arm-bones complete, the os sacrum, the skull decayed on one side, the toe and finger bones nearly complete. Above the body was found large quantities of stones, as if for a foundation for the tomb. The body was laid, not quite *under the middle* of the tomb, but more on the left side, rather more within the little chapel. The head lay about twelve or fourteen inches out, from under the west end of the tomb, *i. e.* the tomb has not completely covered the body. The feet reached to the bottom of the brass plate, which has the inscription on. The Bishop, I should judge from his bones, must have been six feet high.* A black mark was perceptible in the ground in the shape of a coffin, which was evidently the decayed wood,—oak probably.

“Two large flat stones or flags formed the bottom of the tomb.

“The fingers were found close to the shoulders and head, which proves that his arms were laid across.”

CHAPTER VII.—THE WARDENSHIP OF GEORGE WEST.—A. D. 1518 to 1535. (Page 59 and 60.)

In page 59 I have by mistake named West the seventh warden. He was the eighth.

From the Ducatus Lancastriæ I have extracted the following notices of some law processes relative to the church of Manchester at this period :

11th. Henry VIII.—George West, master and warden of Manchester College, against John, Abbot of Whalley, concerning a disputed claim to debt upon bond, given by Robert Clyffe, late master and warden, for support of the College, and a priest there.

15th. Henry VIII.—John Radclyff and William Galey, lessees of Sir Thomas West, Knight, Lord de la Warre, and the master and company of the College of Manchester, against Roger Heyton. In this cause were brought forward interrogatories and depositions, as to the leasehold title to corn-mills, the walk mill, and Walker-croft. The places involved in the question at issue were, the Manchester mills, the Manchester College, the Manchester Free School, the Irke fishing, and the Irke river.

15th Henry VIII.—The king's commission was granted to Thomas Boteler for a return to the commission and certificate of evidence of the wardenship, patronage, and foundation, and a return of churches and chantries, free chapels, and advowsons. This commission is said to have had a reference to Salfordshire Wapentake, the Manchester Church, the Manchester Chantries and College, Eccles Church and Chantries, &c. &c.

20th Henry VIII.—Edward Bekke against Elys Crompton and others, for forcible entry and tortuous possession of lands and tenements held in fee to the use of finding perpetual priests for Manchester Parish Church. In this action the places mentioned as involved in it, are Harwode and the Manchester Church.

* The metrical history stiles the Bishop,

“A goodlie tall man as was in all England.”—S. H.

A. D. 1535 to 1537. See page 61 to 76.

Since the greatest portion of this volume had gone to press, this important VALOR has been published by order of Parliament, and I am therefore too late to make the important use of it that it demands, as it suggests many inquiries with regard to the College of Manchester that ought to have appeared in the text. But, as I have not at present time to devote to the labour, and as Mr Palmer has engaged in the investigation owing to my having been precluded from undertaking it in its proper place, I shall do nothing more than give the extract which relates to the Manchester College in its original form, referring the reader for further information to the Sixth Chapter of the Architectural Description of the Collegiate Church and College of Manchester, (Vol. 2d of this work,) where not only a translation is given of the document, but along with it many ingenious researches regarding the state of the college, church, chantries and other chapels of Manchester in the early part of the reign of Henry the VIIIth.

In the enumeration of the chantries it is necessary to observe, that the names of founders which are given are not in all cases the original ones ;—these names being rather indicative of the families who, at the time when the valor was taken, were in the actual possession of the chantries of the college, either by direct or collateral descent, by treaty or otherwise. Thus, for instances, the name of Radcliffe appears as a founder, who merely purchased St George's Chapel from the family of Galley. (*See the Wardenships of Stanley, Cliff, Alday, and West ; page 48 to 60.*)

COLLEGIUM MAUNCESTRE.
EX FUNDAC'ONE D'NI DE LAWARE IN MANIBZ GEORGIJ
COLIER MA'GRI SIVE GARDIANI IB'M.
DO'IM DE NEWTON ET KARMANSHOLME JUX^a MANCESTRE.

Cum divers' Burgag' infra villa' de Mancestre p'd p'tin' dco Collegio.

Valet in redd' scitus dci collegij cum domibus gardinis et terr' eidem
pertinen' xxx^o: *Item*, in reddit' assis' terrarum et tenementorum in
Newton et Cardmanaholme cum divers' burgag' in Mauncestre ut ps
per rentale xxxviijli. xvs. iiijd. In toto, L. s. d.
xl v iiij

RECTORIA DE MANCHESTER.

Imprōpat dco Collegio.

Valet in granis decimalibz tam in manibz p prijs dci gard' q'm in tenura
divers' tenenciū ibm per annū cxxviijli. xijja. vjd. It' in feno xal, ibm
comunibz annis per estimacoem xxxixa. viijd.: *Item*, in agnell' decimal'
ibm per annū xlvijja.: *Item*, in lan' xal, ibm singlis annis per estimacoem
lvs. iiijd.: *Item*, in vitul' xal ibm coibz annis per estimacoem lvijja. viijd.:
In toto per annum

Item, in lyno et canabo decimal' ibm per annū xijja.: *Item*, in x^{mis} secretis
cum al' sol' ad festum pasche per estimacoem comunibz annis xli^o:
Item, in oblaconibz ibidem annuatim per estimacoem c^o: *Item*, in mor-
tuarijs ibm annuatim per estimacoem xl^o. Sma valoris rcorie predce.

Suma totalis valoris, ccxxvj xij v
De quibus,

REPRIS'.

REDD' RESOL'.

In resolut' domino de La Ware exeunt de terris in Manchester per annum
xviij^d, — — xvij

FEOD'.

Item, feod' Johannis Byron mi' senescalli dci collegii iiij^{li}: *Item*, feod'
Radulphi Slade receptoris et ballivi oim terrar' et tenementorum dci
collegij per annum c^o. In toto, ix — —

PENSIONES.

<i>Item, pens' annuatim solut' epo Cestren' xls. :</i>	<i>Item, pens' annuatim sol' ecclie</i>	<i>L.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
<i>cath' Lichefield' xxs :</i>	<i>Item, pens' annuatim solut' arch' Cestr' xxs.</i>			
Suma pensionum,	- - - - -	iiij	—	—
	Suma repris'	xiiij	—	xviiij
	Et reman' clare	ccxiiij	x	xj
	Decima inde	xxj	vij	j q'

MEMORAND'

Gardian' collegij predicti in manibz Georgii Colyer.

Valet in pensione annuatim recept' de proficuis dicti collegij, - xx — —

X^a inde Nⁱ hic p x^a quia onat' supius int x^{mas} collegij predicti ut supra.

Vicaria infra collegium predict' in manibz Ric' Bradshaa cap'li.

Valet in pensione annuatim recept' de proficuis dicti collegij, - iiij — —

Pro x^{ma} Nⁱ quia supius onat' inter x^{as} dci collegij.

Vicaria infra dcm collegium in manibz Jacobi Greene capellani.

Valet in pensione annuatim rec' de exit' et profic' dci collegii, - iiij — —

In' p x^a Nⁱ causa supradca

Vicaria ibidem in manibz Johannis Key capell'i.

Valet in pensione annuatim recept' extra collegium predictu, - iiij — —

X^a inde Nⁱ quia supius onat' int' x^{as} dicti collegij.

Vicaria infra dictum collegium in manibz Johannis Coppage capellani.

Valet in pensione annuatim rec de exitibz et profic. dicti collegii, iiij — —

X^a inde Nⁱ causa supradca.

Vicaria infra predictum collegium in manibz Henrici Hopewood capellani.

Valet in pensione annuatim recept' de proficuis dci collegij, - iiij — —

P' x^{ma} Nⁱ causa supradca.

Vicaria ibidem in manibz Edmundi Stubbs capni

Valet in pensione annuatim recept' de proficuis dci collegij, - iiij — —

P' x^a causa supradca

Vicaria infra predictum colleg' in manibz Joh'is Fychin capni.

Valet in pensione annuatim recept' extra collegium predictum, - iiij — —

P' x^a Nⁱ causa qua supra.

<i>Vicaria infra predc̄m collegiū in manibz Johannis Walker capellani.</i>	<i>L.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Valet in pensione annuatim recept' de exit' et profic' dci collegij,	iiij	—	—
P' x ^a N ⁱ causa meorata.			

CANTARIA INFRA ECCL'IAM DE MAUNCESTRE PRED'

Ex fundacone Willi Radclyff

Hugo Bryddoke cantarista ibidem.

Valet in reddit' divers' burgag' infra villam de Mauncestre per annū lxx			
Inde in redd' resolut' dno de La Ware per annum xij ^d : <i>Item</i> , in reddit'			
resolut' Rico Hollande per annum iiij ^a Et reman',	—	lx	—
X ^a inde,	—	vj	—

CANTARIA APUD MAUNCESTRE PREDICT'.

Ex fundacone Thome Beke.

Jacobus Barlowe cantarista ibidem.

Valet in pensione annuatim rec' ex ^a dominiū de Savoy in com' Midd' c'			
Inde in denarijs annuatim distribut' inter presbiteros clīcos pauperes et			
al' in die obitus fundatoris per fundacoem xvij ^a viij ^d Et reman' clare,	iiij	—	xvj
X ^a inde,	—	vij	j ob'q'

CANTARIA APUD MAUNCESTRE PREDICT'.

Ex fundacone Robti Gryell.

In manibz Henrici Ryle capellani.

Valet in redditibz et firmis divers' burgag' in Mauncester predict' vj ^{li} xj ^d			
Inde in redditibus resolut' dno de La Ware per annum xxvij ^a vij ^d Et			
reman' clare,	iiij	xij	iiij
X ^a inde,	—	ix	iiij

CANTARIA APUD MAUNCESTRE PREDICT'.

In manibz Johannis Dykonson capellani.

Valet in redditibz divers' terrarum et burgag' ibidem per annum l'.			
Inde in redd' resolut' domino de La Ware per a ^m iij ^a iiij ^d Et rem'	—	xlvj	vij
X ^a inde,	—	iiij	vij

CANTARIA APUD MAUNCESTRE.

Ex fundacone revendi in Xpo pris Jacobi Stanley nuper epi de Ely.

Thomas Johnson cantarista ibidem.

Valet in redd' et firmis divsas terrarum ibidem per annum,	iiij	—	—
X ^a inde,	—	vij	—

CANTARIA APUD MAUNCESTRE PREDICT'. L. s. d.

Ex fundacone Radulphi Hulme.

Johannes Bexwyke cantarista ib'm.

Valet in reddit' et firmis divers' terrarum et tenementorum jacen' in Mauncestre predict' per annū viij^{li} ij' Inde in reddit' resolut' domino de La Ware pro terris predict' per annum xliijs. xd. It' in redd' resolut' Edmundo Entwysell per annū ijs. viij: *Item*, in denarijs sol' in elemosina in die obitus fundator' per fundacon' xijs. Et rem' clare, — ciiij vj
 X^a inde, — x iiij q'

CANTARIA APUD MAUNCESTRE PREDICT'.

Ex fundac' Roberti Chetham.

Johannes Brydoke cantarista ib'm.

Valet in reddit' divs' burgag' cum tentis jacen' in Mauncestre predict' per annū ut patet per ren^{le} de noibz et sumis vij^{li} xiijs iiiij^d Inde in reddit' resol' domino de La Ware p a^m xiijs iiiij^d: *Item*, in reddit, resol' Willmo Hylton per annū xls.: *Item*, in reddit' resol' Ade Hilton per annū xiijs.: *Item*, in reddit' resol' uxor' Laurencij Buckley per annū vjs. Et reman' clare, — — — — — iiiij — —
 X^a inde, — — — — — — viij —

CANTARIA APUD MAUNCESTRE PREDICT'.

Ex fundacone Robti Chetham.

Rob'tus Byron capellanus cantarista ib'm.

Valet in reddit' et firmis divers' burgag' et terrarum in villa de Mauncestre per annum iiiij^{li} xj^s viij^d Inde in redd' resol' dno Regi per annū vjs. viij^d: *Item*, in redd' resol' Rico Brereton mi^{ci} per annū vs. Et reman' clare, — — — — — iiiij — —
 X^a inde, — — — — — — viij —

To this important document, I may add, that in the temporalities of the Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, the church of Manchester is rated at forty shillings.

"De Ecclia de Mancestr xl."

The following extract shows some connection or other of the deanery of Manchester with the ecclesiastical interests of the Diocese of Lincoln, possibly through the medium of the ancient religious house of Kersal. See page 29.

Com. Lincoln'

Deanat' de Hollond'

Monast'cu' B'te Marie de Swyneahed Decanat' de Hollond.

Joh'e Haddyngham Abb'e ib'm.

Adhuc Tempal'

Com Notingham Decanat' de Lincoln' dcas'

Decanat' de p a^m vij^{li} Broughto'

Decanat' de p annū xxs.

Notingham Decanat' de p a^m ijs.

Manchester decanat' de p a^m ijs.

Brygge cast'on com' Rutland' p a^m vjs. viijd.

P'ut modo dimit' in toto.

L. s. d.

xv v v ob'

Lastly, in the law processes of this period, a little prior to, as well as succeeding the reformation, we find the following :—

24th Henry VIII.—Ralph Prestwiche, William Bolton, and others, tenants of Withynshawe, against Sir Ralph Longford, Knight, Thomas Chorleton, James Gee and others, relative to a disputed title to a mansion-place, messuages and lands, a wear or fishgarth, and common of Turbary, and right of way through Mosse-side to Manchester, with interrogatories and depositions thereon. The places and parties concerned in the action were Holme, Withynshawe, Wetyng-shaa, Wethyngton Moss, Mosse-side, and Manchester Church.

29th Henry VIII.—Thomas Chetham and Chatterton against Geffrey Bowker and others, for the forcible taking of tithe corn. Places, Manchester Parsonage, Moston and Blakkeley.

37th Henry VIII.—Thomas Trafforde and Elizabeth, his wife, late wife of George Leigh, deceased, late farmer of the tithe-corn of Hetton, Ralph Trafforde and others against George Collyer, warden to Manchester College, relative to a disputed title to tithe-corn, with interrogatories and depositions, and other evidence thereon. The questions involved Trafford, Manchester rectory, Hetton and Heyton.

Such are the documents relative to the College and Rectory of Manchester at this period.

3. *The Dissolution of the College of Manchester, p. 69.*

Mr Baines, in his History, Directory, &c. of the county-palatine of Lancaster, has collected information regarding the College of Manchester at the time of its dissolution under Edward VI. which was quite unknown to me; and I am sorry that I was not acquainted with the work of this very intelligent writer when I first undertook the present history. I cannot well understand the source whence he has derived his information, but I have little doubt he is correct.

"Though the College of Manchester," says Mr Baines, "had survived the shock of the dissolution of the lesser and larger monasteries in the time of Henry VIII., the regency of Edward VI. dissolved the Collegiate Institution; and the King, having taken the lands into his own hands, demised them to Edward Earl of Derby, subject to the following pensions in charge to the clergy :

"To George Collier, warden, L. 34, 5s.; to Lawrence Vauss, incumbent, L. 8, 13s. 4d.; to John Cowpage, senior vicar, L. 6, 13s. 4d.; and to Relph Barne and William Willsonne, vicars, L. 6 each; to John Glover and John Smythe, perpetual clerks, L. 5, 6s. each; to Thurstone

Thompsonne, incumbent, L. 5, 6s. ; to George Nuteshaw, incumbent, L. 5 ; and to George Okel and George Warrell, L. 6 each.—Pensions were also allowed to the priests of the dissolved chantries in this college, namely, to Nicholas Woolestencroft, priest of St James' Chantry, to Woodalle, priest of the Holy Trinity Chantry, and to William Ryley, chantry priest of Trafford Chapel, L. 5 each ; to William Trafford, stipendiary in the Church, L. 4, 3s. 8d. ; to Robert Prestwicke, priest of Byssykes Chantry, L. 4, 1s. 9d. ; to John Barlowe, priest of St George's Chantry, L. 6 ; and to Edward Smyth, priest of the same, L. 4, 12s. 8d."

4. *Miscellaneous Notices during the reign of Edward the Sixth.*

About the time that the College of Manchester was dissolved, the following law processes occurred.—(*See Ducatus Lancastriae.*)

2d Edward VI.—Stephen Becke against Miles Gilforde, Richard Mershall, and others, about disputed title to messuages held of the warden and chaplains of Manchester College. Places mentioned, Newton in Manchester.

3d Edward VI.—Alice Roscow, widow, against Ralp Roscow, and Elyn, his wife, for trespasses on chantry lands and tenements. Places mentioned, Bryghtnet, Bolton, and Manchester Church.

3d Edward VI.—Edward Jennye and Richard Shalcrosse against Agnes Assheton and Laurence Venables, for forcible entry and tortuous possession of a tenement and appurtenances, parcel of the new Chappell Chantrye, within the parish of Manchester. Places mentioned, Bollyngton, Lyme (Cheshire,) and Manchester.

CHAPTER IX.—THE WARDENSHIP OF LAWRENCE VAUX, A. D. 1557 AND 1558. (*Page 76, &c.*)

It ought to have been stated, page 77, that, in the persecution which took place of the Protestants in Lancashire, Edward Earl of Derby took the lead.

Mention is made in page 76 of a prison in Manchester named THE FLEET. Where this prison was I cannot correctly say. A new prison was subsequently built at Hunt's Bank for the confinement of obstinate Papists in the time of Chadderton, which was named THE NEW FLEET. Mr Aston has stated, that soon after the Reformation the chapel in the Old Bridge, mentioned by Leland, was converted into a prison, acquiring the name of *The Dungeon*. "It was situated," he added, "on the north side of the Bridge, upon the middle pier, and consisted of two apartments, one over the other."—"Those who were so unfortunate," he adds, "as to be lodged in the lower dungeon, were often in a most perilous situation, from the rise of the river by floods, which filled the miserable habitation with water."

I find it recorded in Mr Baines's work, that, in the latter part of Mary's reign, a native of Manchester, of the name of Ellys, calling himself Elias, pretended to the gift of prophecy, and practised with some success upon the credulity of the people of this town.

The gifted powers of this man were, however, but short-lived. Aspiring at some wider field of action, he repaired to London in 1562, when the authorities of that city, regardless of his mission, cast him into Bridewell as an impostor, where he died three years afterwards.

In a note, page 78, it is stated that Lawrence Vaux died in great distress at the Gatehouse in Westminster. There is, however, a doubt about this fact. I find in another statement, (I have forgotten to note down my authority,) that he returned to Lancashire, and died in the family of Standish of Standish, to whom he bequeathed his library, and the communion plate abstracted from the Collegiate Church of Manchester.

CHAPTER X.—THE WARDENSHIP OF WILLIAM BIRCH, A. D. 1558 to 1570,
(incorrectly stated in page 78, 1558 and 1559.) See page 78 to 82.

I would wish to remind the reader, for fear that any mistake of the binder may occur, that, in order to admit the proper annals of this wardenship, which have been written anew, two fresh leaves have been printed, from page 79 to 82, in lieu of the former incorrect ones, which have been directed to be cancelled.

Some miscellaneous events may be recorded as having taken place during this wardenship.

In the fourth of Elizabeth, Isabel Beck, widow and sole heir of Richard Bexwick, in consideration of the sum of twenty nobles, granted to Francis Pendleton, and Cecily, his wife, daughter of the said Isabel, the chantry named Jesus' Chapel, which had been founded in the year 1506 by her husband, Richard Beck, who also built the superb stalls and wood-work on the north side of the choir of the Collegiate Church.

The same Isabel Beck was, like her husband, a liberal donor to the town of Manchester. She left certain houses in St Mary's Gate to trustees, for the perpetual upholding of the Conduit of Manchester. *

CHAPTER XI.—THE WARDENSHIP OF THOMAS HERLE, A. D. 1570 TO 1578.
(See page 82 to 88.)

In this wardenship also, a leaf (pages 87 and 88) has been directed to be cancelled, and a new one distributed in lieu of it.

CHAPTER XV.—THE WARDENSHIP OF DR MURRAY, &c. A. D. 1608 TO 1636.
(See page 136 to 167.)

1. Instance of Charles's early illegal expedients to raise money.

In page 141, it is mentioned that King Charles ascended the throne in 1625. In the same

* See a history of this conduit in Mr Aston's Manchester Guide.

In this period, about the eighth of Elizabeth, so important was considered the trade of Lancashire, that an act was passed respecting the fees due to the Queen's Aulneger, the officer appointed to examine and set the seal to manufactured cloth for the county of Lancaster.

year he commenced with extorting loans from his subjects independently of Parliament, (a system which was ultimately fatal to the House of Stuart,) as the following curious letter, (from Mr Barrett's Collection,) addressed to Mr John Hartley of Strangeway's Hall, near Manchester, sufficiently illustrates. This individual was assessed for his contribution at the sum of L. 13, 6s. 8d.

"To our trusty and well-beloved John Hartley of Manchester, Gent.

BY THE KING,

Trusty and well beloved, we greet you well. Having observed, in the precedents and customs of former times, that the kings and queens of this our realme, upon extraordinary occasions, have used either to resort to those contributions which arise from the generosity of subjects, or to the private helpes of some well affected in particular by way of loane, in the former of which courses, as we have no doubt of the love and affection of our people when they shall again assemble in Parliament, so for the present we are enforced to proceed in the latter course for supply of some portions of treasure for divers publique services, which, without manifold inconveniences to us and our kingdoms, cannot be deferred; and, therefore, this being the first time that we have required in this kind, we doubt not but that we shall receive such a testimony of good affection from you, (amongst other of our subjects,) and that with such alacrity and readiness as may make the same so much the more acceptable, especially seeing we require but that summe which few men would deny a friend, and have a mind resolved to expose all our earthly fortune for preservation of the generall. The summe which we require of you, by virtue of these presents is, thirteen pounds, six shillings, and eight pence, which we do promise, in the name of us, our heirs and successors, to repay to you or your assignees, within eighteen months after the payment thereof, unto the collector. The person that we have appointed to collect is Sir Ralph Ashton, Barronett, to whose hands we do require you to send it within twelve dayes after you have received this Privy Seale, which, together with the collector's acquittance, shall be sufficient warrant unto the officers of our receipt for the repayment thereof at the time limited. Given under our Privy Seale at Hampton Court, the twentieth day of November, in the first year of our raigne of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, 1625.

JA. MYLLES."

2. *Nicholas Hartley's Charity, A. D. 1628.*

Page 142. As a miscellaneous event I omitted to notice, that in the year 1628, Nicholas Hartley left a legacy of fifty pounds, which was laid out in premises at Moston, the rents and profits of which were to be applied to the relief of the poor and aged in Manchester.

3. *The exertions of Mr Johnson, Fellow of Christ's College, Manchester, to procure a new Charter of Foundation. (Page 151.)*

To the Reverend C. D. Wray, chaplain of Christ's College, Manchester, I am indebted for some information which has induced me to cancel a leaf of this book, (pages 151 and 152,) and substitute another, in which it has been stated, that Mr Johnson's efforts, in co-operation with those of his friends, having succeeded in producing an inquiry into the state of the College, which led to the retirement of Dr Murray, on the grounds that he was non-warden from the commencement, it was left to Mr Johnson to procure a new statute of foundation. The following extracts, from a correspondence with Mr Humphry Chetham on the subject, preserved in an old box of the Chetham Library, was obligingly communicated to me by Mr Wray:—

" It was committed to me to draw up the charter of our college foundation in Latin. It will be eight sheets of paper at least, which now I have done, and have had Mr Bridgeman's both correction of some things, and approbation of all the rest already, and this Friday morning I have carried it to Mr Calthrop, the Queen's solicitor at the Temple, who, I think, will approve of it."

Extract from a letter, dated London, July 22d, 1635.

" I have been with my Lord's Grace of Canterbury, and presented to him the draught of the new foundation, which the Lord Privy Seal and the lawyers have often corrected and (I must say) amended,—and I believe my Lord's Grace will show his power and wisdom upon it, and then the King's attorney will have a flinge at it,—and then the secretaries of state, one of them must prefer it to the King, and then the King, if he be not too far gone in progresse, I hope will be prevailed with to approve it, &c."

Copy of a letter to Humphrey Chetham, Esq.

" RIGHT WORSHIPFULL,

" All due respects premised, I hope you have received the letter of sequestration sent downe by Mr Buckley, and hope also for a good issue concerning it.

" I will endeavour to performe the contents of your last letter, wherein I am more and more engaged for your love and care of mee.

" The warden's allowance in the new foundation is seaventy pounds per annum, and noe more, somewhat lesse than the former foundation wages. Each fellowe's allowance is thirty-five per annum, which is above ten pounds more than the foundation wages before; but if you put in the increment it is not above twenty shillings more than before; and this increment I feare wee shall hardly gett of Dr Murray (the foundation beinge destroy'd.) The chaplayne's allowance is seaventeene poundes ten shillings per annum, besides the church dues, which the warden was wont to have, which is above eighty poundes per annum more than they had by the former foundation,—but if you respect these ten poundes increment which the warden promised to pay in consideration that he kept the fellowes' places voyd, and they supplied the same, it is above twenty shillings less than they had in all before. The singing-men have ten pounds per annum, about three poundes a piece more than they had before, and the choristers five poundes per annum—twenty shillings a piece more above what they had before. But if the meanes of the colledge reach to above y^e summes aforesayd, after the officers are all payd, then the warden is to have twice so much thereof as one fellowe, and not more,—and the chaplaynes, singing-men, and choristers are to have an increment according to the discretions of the warden and fellowes. In election of fellowes and other businesses of the colledge, the warden is bound uppon payn of expulsion to give his voyce with the greater number of the fellowes, as also uppon payne aforesayd, he, in the vacancy of a fellowe's place, is bound to call a chapter about the electing of a new fellowe within thirtie dayes after the vacancy shall bee made knowne to him, and then to give with the most voyces.

" But when a fellowe's place is empty, if two of the fellowes remayneing shall give their voyces one way, and the warden and the other fellowes give their voyces the other way, the voyces being even uppon both sides, if noe man be chosen within two months, it shall bee laweful for the King to choose whome hee will, so that hee bee master of arts, or batchelour of lawes, and priest.

The warden must bee batchelour of divinity, or of the laws civil and canon. The fellowes must bee masters of arts, or batchelour of lawes, as aforesayd, at least. The chaplaynes, batchelours of arts and clerks. The singing-men, for the tyme to come, may bee clerks as well as laycks, and preach if they can.

“ No lease of tythes must ever bee lett by y^e warden and fellowes uppon payne of expulsion ; in this manner, to witt, they must not take fines to the diminution of the yearly value.—Noe lease of tenements must bee lett out for lives at all, and but for one and twenty yeares at the most in possession.—The warden must read prayers at the foure cheife festivall dayes in y^e yeare, and preach, and he must forfeit an angell for every default to the fellowe which supplyeth his place. The fellowes must read prayers once a-month, unlesse they have some reasonable cause to the contrary, and preach once a-month ; and for default, each delinquent must forfeit an noble to the fellowe or other that preacheth for him. The warden hath an hundred dayes allowed him to be absent in the yeare, each fellowe fourscore, and for the dayes they are absent more than these, the warden must every day pay halfe a crowne to the poore, and each fellowe sixteene pence to the poore of the towne and parah.

“ No fines must be taken either by warden or fellowes before a colledge house or houses be provided for them and their successors,—excepting what the Lords will bestowe uppon Mr Bordman and mee for my expences and his. The money to be payd to the poore must come through the burser's hands, who must bee one of the fellowes allwayes, and keep all the revenue of the colledge, and hee must bee chosen every yeare, and the warden and fellowes must bee sworne to declare to the burser howe many dayes (above the hundred and forescore aforesayd,) they have bin absent, and admit of noe dispensation uppon payne of expulsion.

“ God bee with yow, your Worshipfull, in all due service,

RICHARD JOHNSON.

“ *September the 7th, 1635.*

“ *To the Right Worshipfull Humphrey Cheetham, Esq.
and High Sheriff of Lonsashire, dd these I pray.*”

CHAPTER XVI. AND XVII.—THE EARLIER ANNALS OF RICHARD HEYRICK'S WARDENSHIP, &c. &c. FROM A. D. 1636 TO 1646. (*See page 167 to 247.*)

1. *Ingratitude to Colonel Roseworm.* (*See page 230.*)

An interesting addition to the case of the cruelly used Roseworm is afforded in the copy of a letter preserved in Mr Barret's Collections, which has been pointed out to me by Mr Palmer. It has been said, in page 230, that the money owing to him was not paid until the 9th of October 1647. It does not, however, appear that even then the unfortunate man's claims were discharged. The Presbyterians had evidently taken an irreconcilable hatred against this soldier of fortune for refusing to take the Covenant, and no relief was probably afforded him until the government of the country got into the hands of the Independents. Colonel Roseworm then renewed his complaints to Cromwell's party, and implored their interference. The following pe-

remptory letter was accordingly sent to the town by President Bradshaw, and no doubt it was effective:—

For the town of Manchester, and particularly for those who contracted with Lieut.-Colonell Roseworthe, these are,

“GENTLEMEN,—The condition of the bearer being fully made known, and his former merit attested to us by honourable testimony, and very well knowne to yourselves, himself also being by birth a stranger, and unable to present his complaints in the ordinary legall forme, give us just occasion to recomend him to you for a through performance of what, by your contract and promise, is become due unto him for his speciall service done to your town and country, whereto we conceive there is good cause for you to make an addition, and that there can be no cause at all for your backwardness to pay him what is his due.

“As touching that which is otherwise due to him from the state, after some other greater businesses are over, he may expect to be put in a way to receive all just satisfaction. In the meane time we comitt him and the premises to your consideration for his speedy relief, and we doe require you to give us notice of your resolutions and doings herein, within one month after the receipt thereof.

“Signd in the name and by order of the Councell of State, appointed by authority of Parliament,

“JO. BRADSHAWE, *Pr. Sed.*

“*Whitshall, 7th July 1649.*”

2. *Date of the Death of the Reverend Mr Bourne, Fellow of the College in Manchester.*

In page 245 a mistake occurs. I have stated, that the Reverend Mr Bourne assisted in accelerating the petition to Parliament for the setting up of the Presbyterian discipline of Lancashire. But this is a mistake. It must have been some other Mr Bourne who was thus active, whose name I mentioned on the authority of a pamphlet which I consulted. The Reverend Mr Bourne, as I find from a register of deaths made out for me by Mr Palmer, died about three years before, namely, on the 26th of August 1643, where his name is recorded as “Bachelor of Divinity, Preacher of the Word of God at Manchester, and one of the Fellows of the College.” The account, therefore, of his death and funeral, which I gave on the authority of Hollingworth, who has affixed no date to the death, ought to be transferred from page 245 to page 226. His name ought also to be erased from page 241.

CHAPTER XIX.—ANNALS OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF MANCHESTER.

(See page 268 to 341.)

1. *The publication of the important document written by Mr Heyrick, entitled, “The Harmonious Consent of the Ministers of the Province within the County-Palatine of Lancaster, with their Reverend Brethren the Ministers of the Province of London, in their late Testimonie to the Truth*

*of Jesus Christ, and to our Solemn League and Covenant ; as also against the Errours, Heresies, and Blasphemies of these times, and the toleration of them.”**

I have mentioned, (p. 271) that, when the Independents first published their national document called *THE AGREEMENT OF THE PEOPLE*, one object of which was to release their representatives from continuing in force any compulsion by penalties “ about matters of faith, religion, or God’s worship,”—Mr Heyrick lost all his patience. I was ignorant, however, that he was the author of a document signed by all the Presbyterian ministers of Lancashire, which for its spirit of persecution exceeds perhaps any thing which had ever been published before in England, since the popish times of Queen Mary. I shall content myself with extracting from it the following denunciation of toleration :—

“ But before we pass on any further, we are here led to express with what astonishment and horror we are struck when we seriously weigh what endeavours are used for the establishing of an universal toleration of all the pernicious errors, blasphemous and heretical doctrines broached in these times, as if men would not sin fast enough except they were bidden ; or as if God were not already enough dishonoured except the throne of iniquity were set up, framing mischief by a Law ; or as if men were afraid that error (a goodly plant to be cherished) would not grow fast enough except it were made much of ; or as if it might as justly lay claim to the priviledg of being defended as truth itself ; or as if there were danger that Satan would not destroy souls enough, except he might do the same without all restraint. For our own parts, as we can never sufficiently admire and wonder that any that have taken the Solemn League and Covenant, should either have so quickly forgotten it, or else imagine that the establishing a toleration of heresie and schism by a law, should be the way to extirpate them ; so also here we shal take occasion to declare what our apprehensions are concerning such a toleration.

“ We have searched the Scriptures, looked as impartially as we could into those authentick records, and yet we cannot find that ever such a thing was practised with approbation from God, from the time that Adam was created upon the earth unto the sealing up of the sacred volume, the ceasing of visions and all new divine revelations. But, on the contrary, that those were blamed, reprehended and checked, that did but connive and wink at the practise of those things that were displeasing unto God ; that the not taking away the high places is mentioned to be a defect in their Reformation, of whom yet God himself gives testimony, that their hearts were upright ; and that those that quite took all away what ever was distasteful to him, were by God himself highly honoured and much commended : And therefore we cannot see how such a kind of toleration as is endeavoured after in these times, can any ways consist with a thorough Reformation according to the Word of God, there being nothing more contrary to reformation than toleration.

“ Besides what else would this be but a seting up the image of jealousie that provokes to jealousie, and a putting upon God (who knows how many) corrivals.

“ It would be a giving Satan free liberty to set up his thresholds by God’s thresholds, and his posts by God’s posts, his Dagon by God’s Ark, which how dishonourable it would be to God and Jesus Christ his only Son, we leave all men to judg. They that search diligently cannot find in it love to God, or love to his truth, or love to men’s precious souls ; Nay, it strongly savours of leaving

* London : Printed for J. Macock for Luke Fawne, at the sign of the Parrot, in St Paul’s Church-yard, 1648.

of first love, which Christ hates ; of lukewarmness and want of zeal, for which Christ threatens to spue out of his mouth, of love to error, and an apprehension of some amiableness and worth therein for which it were to be desired, or else why should there be a pleading to have it tenderly dealt with and indulged ? Even as it argued a love to Baal in them that pleaded for him against Gideon, because he had cast down his alter and cut down the grove that was by it. It would be no part of England's thankfulness unto God, after so many deliverances and mercies received from him, to grant men open liberty to blaspheme God at their pleasure, wrest the Scriptures to their own destruction, trample upon his holy ordinances, slight and contemn all ministry, despise his messengers, commit all manner of abomination, and for every one to go a whoring after his own inventions, which yet would be the effects of a lawless toleration.

“ Add yet further, that a toleration would be the putting of a sword into a madman's hand ; a cup of poyson into the hand of a child ; a letting loose of madmen with fire-brands in their hands ; an appointing a city of refuge in men's consciences for the devil to fly to ; a laying of the stumbling block before the blind ; a proclaiming liberty to the wolves to come into Christ's fold to prey upon his lambs ; a toleration of soul-murder (the greatest murder of all other,) and for the establishing whereof, damned souls in hel would accurse men on earth. Neither would it be to provide for tender consciences, but to take away all conscience ; if evil be suffered it will not suffer good ; if error be not forcibly kept under, it will be superiour ; which we here the rather speak of, to undeceive those weak ones, who under the specious pretext of liberty of conscience (though falsely so called, and being indeed, as is well observed by the general Assembly of the Church of Scotland, Liberty of Error, Scandal, Schism, Heresie, dishonoring God, opposing the Truth, hindering Reformation, and seducing others) are charmed by Satan into a better liking of an unconscientious toleration. We also dread to think, what horrid blasphemies would be belched out against God ; what vile abominations would be committed ; how the duties of nearest relations would be violated ; what differences and divisions there would be in families and congregations, what heart-burnings would be caused ; what disobedience to the civil magistrate that might be palliated over with a pretence of conscience as well as other opinions and practices ; what disturbance of the civil peace, and dissolution of all humane society, and of all Government in the Church and Commonwealth, if once Liberty were given by a Law (which God forbid) for men to profess and practice what opinions they pleased ; yea, sin would be then committed without any restraint or shame, although the more liberty to sin the greater bondage. The establishing of a Toleration, would make us become the abhorring and loathing of all Nations, and being so palpable a breach of our Covenant, would be the high road-way to lay England's glory for ever in the dust, and awaken against us the Lord of hosts to bring a sword upon us to avenge the quarrel of his Covenant. A toleration added to our sins would make us to God an intolerable burthen ; he would doubtless think of easing himself, he would be weary of repenting. And when Jesus Christ should come to judge both quick and dead, the very lukewarm prelates whom Christ hath spued out of his mouth (who in their times would never have consented to such a Toleration as is now desired) would rise up in judgment against us and condemn us. And therefore however there are some that do conceive that in things of the mind the sword is not put into the hands of the civil magistrate for the terror of evil doers and the praise of them that do well ; Yet because we judge the toleration of all kind of opinions and professions in matters of faith (errors therein being in the number of those evil works to which the Magistrate is to be a terror) to be impious

and wicked, and would be a tender nurse to give suck to & cherish the foul, ugly, monstrous and mis-shapen births of our times, as it would be also destructive to the common wealth, though we shal easily grant, men are not to be punished by the Magistrate for their internal opinions which they do not discover yet with our reverend brethern we do here profess to this Church, and to all the Churches of God throughout the whole world, *That we do detest the forementioned Toleration.* And what ever others may expect to the contrary, yet we hope that God wil never suffer the Parliament of England ever to be so unmindful of either their solemn League and Covenant, or of their own former Declarations and Remonstrances, Protestations and Professions, as once to give a listening ear to such as might move for such a thing ; and that they might be kept from being guilty of so great a sin, shal be our earnest prayer for them unto God continually night and day."

The names which are appended to this remarkable historical document ought to be commemorated for the instruction of posterity :

- | | |
|---|---|
| Richard Heyrick, warden of Christ Colledg in Manchester. | John Brierley, preacher at Salford. |
| Richard Hollingworth, Fellow of Christ Colledg in Manchester. | Thomas Johnson, min. of the Gospel at Halsal. |
| Alexander Horrocks, minister of the Gospel at Deane. | William Bell, pastor of Hyton. |
| John Tilsley, pastor of Dean. | William Dun, min. of the Gospel at Ormeskirk. |
| John Harper, pastor of Bolton. | James Worrall, pastor of Aughton. |
| Richard Goodwyn, minister of the Gospel at Bolton. | William Aspinwal, preacher of God's Word at Mayhall. |
| Richard Benson, minister of Chollerton. | John Mallinson, min. of God's Word at Melting. |
| William Alt, min. of Bury. | Robert Seddon, min. of God's Word at Alker. |
| Robert Bath, pastor of Rachdal. | Will. Norcot, minister of West Derby. |
| William Assheton, pastor of Midleton. | Will. Ward, min. of the Gospel at Walton. |
| John Harrison, pastor of Ashton-under-line. | Nevil Kay, pastor at Walton. |
| Thomas Pyke, pastor of Radcliff. | Henry Boulton, preacher at Hale. |
| John Angier, pastor of Denton. | John Fogge, pastor of Liverpoole. |
| William Walker, minister of the Gospel at Newton-Heath Chappel. | Joseph Tompson, min. of Sephton. |
| Toby Furnesse, min. of the Gospel. | Jo. Kyd, min. of Much-Crosby. |
| John Joanes, min. of Eccles. | James Bradshaw, pastor of the Church at Wigan. |
| Edward Woolmer, min. of Flixton. | James Starkey, pastor of North-meoles. |
| Robert Gilbody, preacher at Holcome. | James Wood, preacher of the Word at Assheton in Makerfield. |
| Jonathan Scholefield, min. at Heywood. | Robert Yates, pastor of the Church at War-
rington. |
| Thomas Holland, min. of Ringley. | |
| Thomas Clayton, min. of Didsbury. | |
| Robert Constantine, min. of Ouldham. | |
| Peter Bradshaw, min. of Cockey. | |

Bradley Hayhurst, preacher of the Word at Leigh.	William Addison, lecturer at Preston.
Thomas Norman, pastor of Newton.	William Ingham, minist. at Goosenarghe.
Timothy Smith, preacher of the Word at Rainforth.	Matthew Moore, minister at Broughten.
John Wright, pastor of Billinge.	Christopher Edmundson, pastor at Garstang.
Henry Shaw, pastor at Holland.	Thomas Smith, preacher at Garstang Chapel.
Thomas Crompton, min. of the Gospel at Astley.	John Breres, minister at Padiam.
William Bagaley, min. of the Gospel at Burtonwood.	Richard Jackson, pastor at Whittington.
William Leigh, preacher of the Word at Newchurch.	Nicolas Smith, pastor of Tatham.
Richard Mawdealey, pastor of Ellins.	Robert Shaw, pastor at Cockeram.
James Hyet, pastor of Croston.	James Scholecroft, minister at Caton.
Thomas Cranage, pastor of Brindle.	Thomas Whitehead, pastor at Halton.
Edward Gee, minister of the Gospel at Eccleston.	Peter Atkinson, minister of Ellel.
Paul Latham, pastor of Standish.	John Jaques, minister of Bolton.
Samuel Joanes, pastor of Hoole.	Richard Walker, minister of Warton.
Henry Welch, min. at Chorley.	Philip Bennet, minister of Ulverton.
Wil Brownsword, preacher at Dugglas.	William Smith, minister of Over-Kellet.
James Crichely, preacher at Penwortham.	Brian Willan, minister of Coulton.
Edward Fleetwood, pastor at Kirkham.	Peter Smith, minister of Shireshead.
Isaac Ambrose, pastor of Preston.	Edward Aston, minister of Claughton.
	Thomas Demy, minister of Wiresdalle.
	Thomas Fawcet, minister at Overton.
	Will. Garner, Preacher of the Gospel.
	John Smith, minister of Melling.

4. *Addition regarding Mr John Lake.—See page 287.*

The dispute with Mr John Lake of Oldham acquires some interest, when it is considered that this minister became, after the restoration, Bishop of Chichester. (See Nonconformist's Memorial, vol. 2d, p. 101. Ed. 1786.) At the revolution, Lake, Bishop of Chichester, was among the number of tory prelates, who, by absenting themselves from Parliament and refusing the oaths, disowned the claims of William to the throne of England.

5. *The conference of the Presbyterians with the Earl of Derby, prior to the Battle of Worcester. (See page 301.)*

I regret no circumstance which has occurred to me while writing this history so much, as my omission of an event which is recorded in the memoirs of the House of Stanley, relative to the failure of the Earl of Derby's expedition in favour of Charles the II., prior to the battle of Worcester. But as this portion of my history was penned while I was abroad, (during moments snatched from labours in which I own I felt more interest, viz. among the mountains of Auvergne,) I shall be more readily excused for an omission that arose from the absence of books of consultation.

In page 301, I have stated from erroneous information which I collected, that the Presbyterians

contributed to the expedition under the Earl of Derby in favour of Charles. Now I find that the very opposite was the case, and that the failure of this nobleman really arose from this want of co-operation. The *sine qua non* upon which the Presbyterians offered to join the Earl of Derby was exactly what we might expect from zealots, who were far more bent upon rooting out popery from the land than the restoration of royalty. A conference between his Lordship and the Presbyterians accordingly took place, in which their leading minister, (no doubt Mr Heyrick,) insisted, that, before they joined ranks, the Earl should take the covenant, and disband all the Papists in his army. This demand was refused, and the Earl then entered the field of battle single-handed. He could only summon an inferior force, and being met by Colonel Lilbourne at Wigan, was defeated.

The statement I shall now give :

" His Lordship, who was always ready to attend his Prince, and to serve the son with the same truth and sincerity he had done his father, hastened over to England, and brought with him above three hundred gallant gentlemen, who were at that time with his Lordship in the Isle of Man; and though his Lordship made all possible speed to have met the King in Lancashire, yet it so happened, that his Majesty had marched through that county three days before he could get over, but had left Major General Massey to receive him.

" Upon notice whereof, his Lordship hastened to Warrington, where he met the Major General, who that very night brought in many of the Presbyterian party to his Lordship; to whom his Lordship addressing himself, acquainted them that he was come from the Isle of Man to do his Majesty all the service in his power; that the King had given him his assurance under his own hand, (of which he gave them a sight,) that all those gentlemen of that persuasion would be ready to join with him; that he was to that end ready to receive whoever were pleased to come to him, and with them to march immediately to his Majesty.

" To this one of their ministers, in behalf of himself and the rest of his brethren, replied to his Lordship, ' That he hoped, and so did all the gentlemen with him, that his Lordship would put away all the Papists he had brought from the Isle of Man, and that he himself would take the Covenant, and then they would all join with him.'

" To this his Lordship replied, ' Sir, I hope this is only your own opinion, and therefore I desire that the gentlemen present will be pleased to deliver their own sentiments.' When all made answer, ' That their minister had spoken their thoughts; adding, that his Majesty had taken the Covenant, and thereby gave encouragement to all his subjects to do the same; and that if his Lordship would not put away all Papists, and enter publicly into the Solemn League, they could not join him.'

" To this his Lordship replied, ' That upon these terms he might long since have been restored to his whole estate, and that blessed martyr, Charles I., to all his kingdom; that he came not now to dispute, but to fight for his Majesty's restoration, and would, upon the issue of the first battle, humbly submit himself to his Majesty's direction in that point; that he would refuse none, of any persuasion whatsoever, that came in cheerfully to serve the King; and hoped they would give him the same freedom and latitude to engage whom he could for his Majesty's preservation; and that he was well assured, that all those gentlemen he had brought with him were sincere and honest friends to his Majesty's person and interest.'

" To the same effect Major General Massey seconded his Lordship, wherein he made use of

the strongest arguments and exhortations, to lay aside all animosities, and depart from their former mistakes; and by his and other examples embrace this opportunity, which God had put into their hands; and to join heartily with the EARL of DERBY, in manifestation of their own duty and loyalty, and the vindication of themselves from all attempts or intention of usurpation, that they were suspected of, and then lay upon them.

“ But the whole party insisted peremptorily upon their demands, to have all the Papists disbanded, and the EARL of DERBY to take the Covenant, without which they would not join him; who perceiving it was in vain to press them any further upon that subject, the old leaven having taken too much effect, and found them too far to be sweetened by any arguments or reasonings whatsoever; therefore his Lordship only added before parting, ‘ Gentlemen, if you will be persuaded to join with me, I make no doubt but in a few days to raise as good an army to follow the King, as that he has now with him, and by God’s blessing to shake off the yoke of bondage resting both upon you and us; if not,’ continued he, ‘ I cannot hope to effect much; I may perhaps have men enough at my command, but all the arms are in your possession, without which, I shall only lead naked men to slaughter; however, I am determined to do what I can with the handful of gentlemen now with me for his Majesty’s service, and if I perish, I perish; but if my master suffer, the blood of another Prince and all the ensuing miseries of this nation will lie at your doors;’—having with him only the worthy gentlemen that came from the Isle of Man, and some few of the royal party that were come in to him.

“ His Lordship, on resting a while, sent out his warrants for all persons willing to serve his Majesty under him, forthwith to repair to him at Preston, the place appointed for their rendezvous. These warrants were secretly dispersed in all the chief towns of the country, and many came to him from all parts; but before he could possibly raise and accoutre a sufficient number, Colonel Lilbourn then in the county, with eighteen hundred dragoons, and the foot militia of Lancashire and Cheshire, was got to Manchester, and marching directly against Lord Derby. His Lordship had at that time about six hundred horse, and being informed the enemy were near him, trusting to the goodness of his cause, and the courage and resolution of those with him, he resolved with these, to engage that great body of the enemy; therefore gave orders to march forthwith to Wigan, a most faithful and loyal town to his Majesty, and there to expect the enemy.

“ But unhappily and unexpectedly to him, Lilbourn having made long marches, had, before his Lordship could reach the town, lined the hedges with his foot, and engaged his Lordship’s troops in Wigan-Lane; however, the Earl still held on his march in very good order, and, in continual expectation of an engagement, when approaching near the enemy, he caused his troops to halt so long as to give them his orders, then divided his horse into two bodies about three hundred in each. The van he commanded himself, and gave the rear to Sir Thomas Tyldesley, and then sounded a charge.

“ Twice his Lordship and all his party made their way clear through the whole body of the enemy; but attempting it a third time, and being oppressed and environed by unequal numbers, the Lord Witherington, Sir Thomas Tyldesley, and many other brave and worthy gentlemen, were slain. Sir Throgmorton, Knight Marshal, was left among the dead, but taken up by a poor woman, and relieved by that worthy Knight Sir Roger Bradshaw.

“ His Lordship had two horses killed under him, and seconded and remounted both times by a faithful servant, a Frenchman, who there lost his life by his master’s side; in the third charge, upon the fall of Lord Witherington, his Lordship mounted his horse, and, being seconded by six

gentlemen of his party, he, with them, fought his way through a great body of the enemy into the town; where, his Lordship quitting his horse, leapt in at a door that stood open, and suddenly shutting it before the enemy could reach it, the woman of the house kept it shut so long, till his Lordship was conveyed to a place of privacy, where he lay concealed for many hours, notwithstanding the most industrious search of the enemy.

"Of the six hundred gentlemen with his Lordship, he lost at least the half, himself at least having received seven shots upon his breast-plate, and thirteen cuts upon his beaver, which he wore over a cap of steel, which was taken up in the lane after the battle. He also received five or six slight wounds in his arms and shoulders, but none very dangerous. Perhaps this age has not seen or known an action of greater bravery, where six hundred horse fought three thousand horse and foot in a disadvantageous place for two hours together, leaving seven hundred dead upon the spot besides the wounded, with the loss of three hundred only.

"His Lordship having got his wounds privately dressed, and furnished with a disguise that very night, about two o'clock, attended only with three servants, began his journey towards Worcester, whither he came before the battle; and though his wounds were green and sore, he attended his Majesty through the whole fight, behaving therein with his usual and accustomed gallantry."

CHAPTER XX.—THE RESTORED WARDENSHIP OF RICHARD HEYRICK.

(See p. 342.)

6. *Mistake in page 367, relative to an anecdote connected with Mr Angier of Denton.*

I have been led astray, from consulting some authors, in attributing an act of leniency to Dr Wilkins, which took place during a much earlier period of puritanism, under Bishop Bridgeman, and I have also bungled in the commencement of the second volume in endeavouring to correct myself. I would, therefore, wish the reader to expunge from page 367 the whole clause that relates to Dr Wilkins, Mr Tilsley, and Mr Angier, as not being its right place.

At the same time, I would remark, that it is still true (what I have advanced) that, although prosecutions against nonconformists took place in Manchester, they were notwithstanding much fewer than what occurred in other counties, in which forbearance the Bishops of Chester, whoever they were at the time, must have participated.

I have corrected these mistakes of the page mentioned, by a reference to the Non-conformists' memorial, where the original anecdote of Angier appears, and by consulting Dr Ormerod's very accurate History of Cheshire for the list of the Bishops of the diocese of Chester.

ADDENDA.

LAST CHARTER OF CHRIST'S COLLEGE, MANCHESTER, GRANTED BY
CHARLES THE FIRST, IN THE ORIGINAL LATIN.

WHILE drawing up the account of the wardenship of Dr Murray, I lamented that I was obliged to give a very bad translation of the last charter of Charles the First, having no access to the original document. The deficiency, however, has at length been supplied by the kindness of the Reverend C. D. Wray, Chaplain of Christ's College, Manchester; (to whom I have been before indebted for similar favours,) who has transmitted me a copy of the charter in the original Latin, made many years ago by one of the late members of the College. I am not satisfied that it is perfectly accurate, but as it carries with it far greater pretensions as an authority than the wretched translation which has been printed, (*see page 152,*) a space has been afforded for its insertion in the Addenda. It is also preferable that the document should be given *verbatim*, rather than that any corrections should be attempted.

Carolus Dei Gratiâ Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ et Hiberniæ rex, Fidei Defensor, &c.

Omnibus, ad quos præsentis literæ pervenerint, salutem — Cum fideles Subditi Nostri generosi et alii Parochiani de Mancester, alias Manchester, in comitatu nostro Palatino Lancast. multas easq. graves querimonias nobis detulerunt; Quòd cum in prædictâ villâ de Mancestre, alias Manchester, quoddam Collegium de uno Guardiano, et quatuor Sociis presbyteris a Dominâ Elizabethâ, nuper Angliæ reginâ, memoriæ beatissimæ, Anno regni sui vicesimo fundatum et dotatum fuerit; in quo quidem Col. constituti etiam erant in perpetuum duraturi duo Capellani, quatuor viri Laici, et quatuor pueri Musices periti; quod etiam Collegium in hunc finem erectum fuit, ut in ejus templo preces quotidianæ pro nobis et regno nostro solemniter haberentur, sacra et alia divina servitia celebrarentur, et subditi nostri parochiani ibidem (qui sunt ad numerum viginti plus minus hominum millia) et alii vicini populi in pietatis officiis erga Deum, obedientiâ erga nos, et honestæ inter se vitæ, et conversationis instituerentur, attamen sive id sit incuriâ et absentiâ, sive avaritiâ Guardiani et Sociorum maxima pars proventuum dicti Collegii a privatis quibusdam detenta est et iniquè usurpata, adeò ut justum Stipendium Sociis, Capellanis, cæterisq. in eâdem Ecclesiâ ministrantibus non suppeterit, quin etiam ab Ecclesiæ ipsius ruinâ jam proximâ tantum periculum imminebat intrantibus, ut pleriq. Parochiani vix ausi essent spirituale animarum pabulum exinde petere pro discrimine corporum, unde Presbyteros ad vitam necessariis destitutos, populum quoq. presbyt. etiam ipso brevi fore destitutum verebantur, nisi dignaremur ex uberiori gratiâ quam humillimè precabantur tot tantisq. malis adhibere.

Nos, pietatis juxta et veritatis studiosi, haud libenter sustinentes aut Subditos nostros aut Coll., tam insigne Antecessoris nostri pietate erectum, tantis sub injuriis laborare, commisimus rem totam secretioribus consiliariis nostris fidelissimis, Reverendissimo in Xto patri Wilhelmo, Archie-

piscopo Cantuariensi, totius Angliæ Primati et Metropolitano, Thomæ Domo Coventry de Aldborough, D^{no}. Custodi magni sigilli nostri Angliæ, Henrico Comiti Mancestræ, D^{no}. Custodi privati Sigilli nostri penitus explorandam, qui omnibus, quæ hinc inde dici poterant, prospectis, comperiere miseras Collegii querelis haud impares, aut iis certè majores, easq. a Guardiano prorsus, aut suâ saltem præcipuè causâ, introductas.

Visa igitur est nobis res digna, ut quæ examini commissionariorum nostrorum in causis ecclesiasticis mandaretur; qui post maturam inde habitam deliberationem et examinationem in debitâ Juris formâ procedentes, Guardiano prius ad respondendum personaliter provocato, ob dictas aliasq. graves causas præfatum Guardianum ab officio et loco Guardiani amoverunt. Quibus præterea innotuit dictum Guardianum consultò abstinuisse a Juramento quodam in literis patentibus dictæ Reginæ expresso, de non recipiendo quicquam de Coll. Reditibus, nisi pro diebus quibus fuerit præsens, &c. Quo non suscepto, nec Guardianus esse potest. Quapropter et pro diversis aliis causis iisdem Commisionariis apparentibus, eum non Guardianum a primâ istius nomine Usurpatione pronuntiârunt, unde nec per eum electi Socii revera Socii erant, et in Judicio hominum in legibus peritorum dictum Collegium vel omnino dissolutum est, vel certè nullam aut admodum incertam foundationem habet. Quocirca Domini prædicti humiliter nobis supplicârunt, ut nos pro continuatione et instauratione ejusdem Collegii ipsum de novo et integro erigere, fundare, et stabiliri dignaremur.

Sciatis igitur, quòd nos pro pietate eâ quam in Deum, ejusq. ecclesiam, et charitate quam in subditos nostros, Curâq. quam de illis sanctè instituendis singularem habemus, hujusmodi supplicationi libenter annuentes de gratiâ nostrâ speciali, ac ex certâ scientiâ et mero motu nostris pro Nobis, Hæredibus, et Successoribus nostris volumus, concedimus, et ordinamus, quòd virtute harum literarum patentium in perpetuum sit et erit in prædictâ Villâ de Manchester alias Manchester unum Collegium perpetuis futuris temporibus duraturum, quod vocabitur Collegium Xti in Manchester a Rege Carolo fundatum. Ac illud Collegium de uno Guardiano, Presbytero et sacræ Theologiæ ad minus Baccalaureo, vel LL. B., ut prædictum est, piis, honestis, et doctis hominibus subditos nostros ibidem et in locis vicinis sanctè instituere valentibus erigi, ordinari, creari, fundari et stabiliri decrevimus. Et idem Collegium tenore præsentium ut realiter et ad plenum perpetuò continuetur erigimus, ordinamus, creamus, fundamus, stabilimus, et in perpetuum inviolabiliter observari jubemus per præsentés.

Et ut Collegium prædictum de personis congruis in singulis locis et gradibus suis perimpleteur et decoretur, Dilectos nobis Richardum Heyrick ^{1^{um}} Guardianum perpetui Collegii prædicti, Wilhelmum Bourne, Samuelem Boardman, Richardum Johnson, Petrum Shaw, primos socios perpetui Collegii prædicti facimus, ordinamus, et constituimus per præsentés.

Volumus etiam, et per præsentés ordinamus et concedimus pro Nobis, Hæredibus, et successoribus nostris, quòd prædictus Guardianus et Socii Coll. prædicti, et successores sui in re, facto, et nomine, de cætero sint et erunt unum corpus corporatum et politicum de se in perpetuum, per nomen Guardiani et Sociorum Coll. Xti in Manchester a Rege Carolo fundati incorporatum et erectum: Ac ipsos Guardianum et Socios Coll. Xti in Manchester a R. Carolo fundati, et successores suos per præsentés incorporamus, ac corpus corporatum et politicum per idem nomen perpetuò duraturum et realiter et ad plenum creamus, erigimus, ordinamus, facimus, constituimus, et stabilimus per præsentés.

Ac Volumus et per presentes ordinamus et concedimus pro Nobis, Hæredibus et successoribus

nostris, quòd iidem Guardianus et Socii Coll. Xti in Manc^r. a R. Car. fundati habeant successionem perpetuam, et per idem nomen sint et erunt personæ habiles, apti et in lege capaces ad habenda perquirenda, recipienda, et possidenda bona et Catalla, Mansaria, Terras, Messuagia, Tenementa, Prata, Pascua, Pasturas, Rectorias, Decimas, Advocationes Ecclesiarum, Redditus, Reversiones, Servitia et alia Hæreditamenta, quæcunq. tam de Nobis, Hæredibus et successoribus nostris, quàm de aliquâ aliâ personâ, tam spirituali quàm temporali, sive aliquibus aliis personis quibuscunq. sibi et successoribus suis pro termino Vitæ, Vitarum vel Annorum, vel in fædo, et perpetuitate, et ad omnia et singula alia facta et res faciendas.

Et ulterius volumus, ac pro Nobis, Hæredibus et Successoribus nostris concedimus per præsentés, præfatis Guardiano et Sociis Coll. Xti in Manc^r. a R. Car. fund. et Successoribus suis, quòd de cætera in perpetuum habeant et habebunt Commune Sigillum ad negotia sua et cætera his literis nostris patentibus expressa et specificata, seu aliquam inde parcellam tangentia seu concernentia deserviturum; et quod ipse et Successores sui per Nomen Guardiani et Sociorum Coll. Xti in Manc^r. a R. Car. fund. placitare et implacitari, prosequi, defendere et defendi, responderé et responderi possint et valeant, et in omnibus et singulis causis, querelis, actionibus, realibus, personalibus et mixtis cujuscunq. generis aut naturæ, in quibuscunq. locis et curiis nostris, ac curiis et locis Hæredum et Successorum nostrorum, ac in locis et curiis aliorum quoruncunq. coram quibuscunq. Justiciariis et Judiciis Ecclesiasticis, et Secularibus vel aliis personis quibuscunq. infra regnum nostrum Angliæ, et ad ea et ad omnia et singula alia facienda, agenda, et recipienda, prout et in eodem modo, quo cæteri ligii nostri personæ habiles et in lege capaces, aut aliud sive alia corpus vel corpora corporata et Politica infra idem regnum nostrum Angliæ facient et facere poterant in curiis et locis prædictis et coram Justiciariis et Judicibus prædictis.

Volumus etiam constituimus et ordinamus per præsentés, quod quandocunq. et quotiescunq. per mortem prædicti Richardi Heyrick, jam primi Guar. prædicti Col. seu aliquo modo quocunq. officium et locus Guardiani in posterum vacare contigerit, quòd in ejus locum succedat et sit Guard. quicunq. Presbyter et ad minus S. T. B. vel LL. B. ut prædicitur, a Nobis, Hæredibus aut successoribus nostris de tempore in tempus per literas magno Sigillo nostro Hæredum et Successorum nostrorum munitas nominabitur et præficietur, presentatione scilicet factâ Reverendo in Xto patri Episcopo Cestriensi pro tempore existenti, qui statim curabit clericum a nobis sic nominatum institui et installari in Guardianatum vel Decanatum istius Ecclesie.

Et quandocunq. et quotiescunq. per mortem aut alio modo quocunq. locus alicujus Sociorum in posterum vacare contigerit, Volumus et ordinamus per præsentés, quòd in locum ejus succedat et sit Socius, quicunq. Presbyter ad minus A. M. vel LL. B. qui a Guardiano et reliquis Sociis aut eorum Successoribus, aut ab eorum majore parte vel numero, quorum unum Guardianum esse volumus, electus et (literis sigillo communi dicti Collegii munitis) declaratus fuerit Socius dicti Collegii. Hanc verò electionem Socii in locum quomodocunq. vacuum fieri jubemus intra 30 dies postquam vacatio illa Guardiano et reliquis Sociis innotuerit. Volumus etiam quòd sic electus et declaratus erit Socius prædicti Coll. Xti in Manc^r. a R. Car. fund. ac eos et eorum quemlibet in formâ prædictâ electos et declaratos, et eorum successores eodem modo eligendos et declarandos Socios prædicti Coll. in Manc^r. a R. Car. fund. in perpetuum nominamus, facimus, ordinamus et constituimus, et eidem Coll. Xti in Manc^r. a R. Car. fund. incorporamus per præsentés.

Uterius volumus et constituimus per præsentés, quòd duo in perpetuum sint in Collegio prædicto, Capellani sive Vicarii ad minus A. B. et clerici, qui ægrotos visitabunt, sacramenta aliq.

necessaria et divina servitia in dicto Collegio et Parochiâ de Manchester celebrabunt, singulisq. diebus (nisi quatenus cum illis per Guardianum et socios dispensatum fuerit) in ejusdem Collegii templo ministrabunt. Et quod sint item in dicto Collegio in perpetuum quatuor viri seu clerici seu Laici, et quatuor pueri musices periti, qui preces et servitia alia divina quotidiana in Ecclesiâ dicti Collegii paragent. Et nominamus, volumus, et constituimus pro hâc vice et tempore duntaxat, Edmundus Hopwood, et Robertus Browne sint primi Capellani officia in Coll. et parochiâ de Manc^r. divina celebraturi. Et quod Carolus Leigh, Sen^r. Johannes Leigh, Petrus Starkey, et Carolus Leigh, Jun^r. sint primi Viri sive Clerici sive Laici musices periti. Et quod Carolus Leigh, Jonathan Ridge, Georgius Warbutton, et Edmundus Hall sint primi pueri in Coll. et parochiâ de Manc^r. servituri. Et quandocunq. et quotiescunq. per mortem aut alio modo quocunq. locus alicujus Capellani seu Vicarii, aut alicujus Viri musices periti, aut alicujus pueri per mutationem vocis aut aliter vacare contigerit, alium vel alios simili modo a dicto Guardiano et Sociis et eorum successoribus, vel a majore eorum parte vel numero, (quorum unum Guardianum esse volumus,) de tempore in tempus, qui in vacantis seu vacantium locum succedat vel succedant, eligi et nominari volumus.

Constituimus etiam et volumus, quod sint in eodem Collegio in perpetuum Sub-Guardianus et Thesaurarius sive Bursarius, Collector Redituum, Choristarum instructor, Organista, Ballivus, simili modo a Guardiano et Sociis et eorum Successoribus, aut a majori eorum parte vel numero, de tempore in tempus quotannis in die aliquo generalis computi 20 dies, aut circiter ante Festum Natalis Domini eligendi. Et quod Sub-Guardianus, Thesaurarius et Collector Redituum sint de numero Sociorum, et cæteri prædicti officarii de reliquis Collegiatis eligendi in perpetuum sint. Possunt etiam Guardianus et Socii et eorum Successores aliis quoq. temporibus Officiarios istiusmodi eligere, si per mortem aut alias locus alicujus vacare contigerit et non aliter. Permittimus etiam et concedimus Guardiano et Sociis et eorum Successoribus potestatem describendi, assignandi et limitandi naturam et qualitatem istiusmodi Officiariorum, ac etiam quanta et qualia Stipendia habuerint, definiendi.

Sed quia certè intelleximus, nuper; Collegium à Regina Elisabethâ fundatum gravissima mala sustinuisse vel neglectu, vel potius fraude et dolo malo Guardiani, qui, vel ut lucrum sibi accresceret, vel ut securius quidvis per fas et nefas audere posset, in defectu Sociorum recusavit Capitula convocare, vel Socios aliosve Collegiatos et Officiarios in sedes vacantes eligere; ita ut per multos continendo annos loca et Sociorum, Capellanorum, Virorum Clericorum vel Laicorum, et Choristarum vacantia in neglectum et ferè opprobrium divini cultûs et detrimentum Collegii et Parochianorum, Statuimus, ordinamus et volumus, quod intra 30 dies posteaquam locus Socii, Capellani, Viri seu Clerici seu Laici, Choristæ et Officiariorum cujuscunq. vacare contigerit, tenebitur Guardianus pro tempore existens ac inde notitiam habens, capitulum de novo Socio vel Capellano, vel viro Clerico seu Laico, vel Choristâ, vel Officiariorum quocunq. eligendo convocare vel per se vel procuratorem suum, cumq. aliquem Sociorum, idq. sub pœnâ remotionis a loco et Officio Guardiani ipso facto, et reliquos Socios, Quotquot intra Parochiam commorari ab aliquo Capituli dignoscantur, tres dies ante electionem habendam de Negotio peragendo certiores facere.

Et Volumus, quod sub eadem pœnâ prædictâ Guardianus pro tempore existens tenebitur illum vel illos in Locum Socii, Capellani, Viri Clerici seu Laici, vel Choristæ, aut officiariorum cujuscunq. vacantem suo etiam suffragio confirmare et eligere, qui plura habet Capituli suffragia in ipsum collata.

Volumus etiam in aliis Collegii negotiis quibuscunq. majorem numerum suffragiorum valere, et Guardianum pro tempore existentem, quæ aguntur a majori numero, rata habere et facere.

Et quoniam ex tribus Sociis superstitibus vix est conjicere, quin unus saltem in singulis quibuscunq. electionibus inter suffragandum cum Guard. consentiet unde par fiet utrinq. numerus suffragiorum; statuimus et volumus quòd quandocunq. et quotiescunq. duo vel plures ambientes eundem locum Socii vacantem pari numero se suffragiorum quadeant et certent, (si nemo inter duos menses in locum vacantem suffectus fuerit) licebit nobis, Hæredibus et Successoribus nostris quemcunq. Artium Magistrum vel Jurium Baccalaureum existentem Presbyterum, Socium eligere et nominare; eritq. sic electus et nominatus Socius.

Volumus etiam et concedimus pro Nobis, Hæredibus et Successoribus nostris, quòd Episcopus Cestriensis et Successores sui habeant potestatem et licentiam visitandi dictum Coll. et inquirendi de observatione Statutorum, Moresq. et excessus corrigendi in domo Capitulari dicti Coll. quolibet triennio de Jure communi et insuper quoties ob graviore aliquas causas a Guardiano et uno aliquo Sociorum vel ab omnibus Sociis, invito Guardiano, vocatus fuerit.

Statuimus etiam, quod quilibet Socius statim ab Ecclesiâ suâ juramentum suscipiet tactis S. Sanctis Dei Evangeliiis, "Se debitam reverentiam Guardiano præstiturum." Capellanus quicunq. idem juramentum suscipiet de debitâ reverentiâ præstando Guardiano et Sociis; et inferiores quoq. superioribus.

Statuimus etiam ordinamus et volumus quod Guardianus et Socii et eorum Successores statim ab installatione jurejurando se obstringent coram reliquis Sociis, "velle se bonum publicum Coll. quibus poterit modis legitimis, promovere, Statuta Coll. observare, secreta Domûs Capitularis silentio premere, suumq. mutuo et singulorum Collegiatorum juxta loca et gradus suos tueri honorem et commodum." Idem quoq. juramentum suscipi volumus a Sub-Guardiano, Thesaurio sive Bursario, Collectore Redituum, Registrario et Ballivo; aliudq. Juramentum de Officiis suis fideliter exequendis.

Damus porro per præsentem Guard. vel Sub-Guard. et Sociis pro tempore existentibus respectivè potestatem et licentiam recipiendi omnia juramenta per prædictum Guardianum et Socios reliquosq. Collegiatos et Officiarios, suosq. successores de tempore in tempus suscipienda.

Et Ulterius, ut intentio hæc nostra meliorem sortiatur effectum, utq. Coll. hoc nostrum redituum et reversaionum annuatim crescentium et renovantium sat habeat unde et suis et suorum necessitatibus juxta uniuscujusq. locum et gradum sufficiat: Sciatis, quòd nos de uberiori Gratiâ Nostrâ speciali, ac ex certâ scientiâ et mero motu Nostris dedimus et concessimus, ac per præsentem pro Nobis Hæredibus et Successoribus Nostris damus et concedimus præfato Guardiano et Sociis Coll. Xti in Manc. a R. Carolo fund. et successoribus suis in perpetuum, Omnia illa 16 Messuagia sive Tenementa, Burgagia et Cottagia nostra cum pertinentibus in Manchester, Newton, Deansgate, Kirkmanshulme infra Parochiam de Manchester prædictam in comitatu prædicto, olim vel nuper in separatis tenuris sive occupationibus Nicholai Bagaly, Johannis Kenyon, Edwardi Pendleton, Elizabethæ Beach viduæ Hugonis Hartley, Stephani Hall, Thomæ Buerdaall, Roberti Hulme, Richardi Whitworth, Hugonis Hall, Hugonis Travis, Radulphi Barne, Thomæ Hall, Galfridi Hill, Radulphi Kemp, Adami Holland, Nicholai Bowker, Joh. Whitworth, Georgii Reddish, Rogeri Smith, Jacobi Dawson, Nicholai Hutchinson, Johannis Smith, Radulphi Whitworth, Jacobi Barlow, Edwardi Boardman, Georgii Travis, Thomæ Hollingworth, Ottonis Boardman, Johannis Berrom Arm., Thomæ Hall, Richardi Beswick, Tho. Kenyon, Radulphi Marlor, Roberti

Lee, Elizabethæ Kenyon, Rich. Percival, Edmundi Trafford, Will. Owen, Georgii Travis, Richardi Webster, Edmundi Haworth, Rich. Harrison, Thomæ Smith, Jacobi Riddleston, Antonii Sheppard, Henrici Barrows, Jacobi Smith, Georgii Rawlinson, Edmundi Blomeley, Hamlet Renshaw, Rob. Genny, Joh. Cowper, Johan. Drumfield, Johan. Norris, Jacobi Glover, Radulphi Bibby, Caroli Leigh, Edwardi Blomely, Hamlet Renshaw, Edwardi Sorrowcold, Jacobi Wolstencroft, Tho. Hilton, Hugonis Boardman, Petri Derbyshire, Uxoris aliquando Richⁱ. Hartley, Uxoris aliquando Rich^{di}. Vaux, Uxoris aliquando Tho. Rawson, Adami Byrom, Georgii Proudlove, Magdalenæ Percival, Uxoris aliquando Thom. Stevenson, Adami Pilkinton, Reginaldi Wynnington seu aliter eorum vel Assignatorum suorum vel Assignatorum suorum alicujus vel aliquorum ; ac etiam unam parcellam terræ cum pertinentibus in Manc^r. prædicto quæ vocatur Parsonage Croft, continentem per æstimationem duas Acras olim vel nuper in tenurâ sive occupatione Henrici comitis de Derby vel Assign^m. suorum ; ac unam parcellam terræ cum pertinentibus in Newton prædict quæ vocatur Scotland Croft, olim vel nuper in tenurâ sive occupatione Johan. Whitworth vel Assignat^m. suorum ; quandam clausam cum pertinent. in Newton prædicto, olim vel nuper in tenurâ sive occupatione Radulphi Kempe vel Assign^m. suorum. Unam parcellam terræ cum pert^a. in Newton prædicto olim vel nuper in tenurâ sive occupatione Johan. Berron Arm. vel assign^m. suorum : quandam clausam cum pertinent. in Newton prædicto continentem per æstimationem novem Acras terræ olim vel nuper in tenurâ sive occupatione Georgii Birch vel Assign^m. suorum : unum messuagium vocatum le Guildhouse olim vel nuper in tenurâ sive occupatione Thomæ Jarvis et Assign^m. suorum ; duo messuagia in Salford juxta Whitcross olim vel nuper in ten^a. sive occup^c. Radulphi Holden vel Assign^m. suorum ; unam parcellam terræ vocatam the little Ryding, ac duas parcellas prati in Salford nuper vel olim in ten^a. vel occup^c. Catherine Forkinton viduæ, vel Assign^m. suorum : Ac etiam liberos redditus, consuetudines et servitia exeuntia de diversis terris et tenementis olim vel nuper pertinentibus Johanni Berron, Thomæ Beck, Radulpho Holden, Johanni Booth, Reginaldo Wynnington, et filiis et hæredibus Radulphi Kitshaw vel Assignatorum suorum vel Assign^m. eorum aliquorum vel alicujus ; vel de terris et decimis Granorum quondam in tenurâ sive occupatione Roberti Langley : Ac omnes et singulas granorum annuatim crescentes, renovantes et provenientes in Manchester prædicto, et in Broughton, Cheetham, Chorlton, Tetlow-Hulme juxta Manchester, Didsbury, Withington, Salford, Levenshulme vel Lentsahulme, Openshaw, Trafford, Stretford, Chorlton, Barlow, Hulme juxta Stockport, Clayton, Failsworth, Aroisdale alias Droilsdale, Moston, Ancoats, Gorton, Beswick, Reddish, Denton, Haughton, Haughend, Harpurhey, Kersall, Kirkmanshulme, Bradford, Ardwick, Rusholme, Crumpsal, Heyfield, Newton, Bromage, Ordsall, Hardy, Howpark, Collyhurst, Claydon, Hopwood, Claydon, et Heaton-Norris in Com. Nost. Lancas. ac omnes alias decimas quascunq. in Parochiâ de Manchester, vel alibi crescentium et renovantium nuper vel quondam Collegio de Manchester pertinentes ; Ac etiam omnes decimas agnorum, vitulorum, fœni, lini, cannabis, et omnia et singula mortuar: mortuarior: libror: pascha minut, decimas oblationes annuatim provenientia in Man^c. prædicto olim in Separatâ sive occupatione Alex. Barlow, Radulphi Hurston et aliorum : Ac etiam duo Messuagia cum pertinentibus in Dunham Massey, in Com. Nos. Cest. modo vel nuper in ten^a. sive occup^c. Willhelmi Booth Arm., vel Georgii Booth Militis et Baronetti, vel Willmi Booth filii prædicti Georgii vel Assignatorum suorum, aut alicujus eorum, nuper parcellas possessionum nuper Coll. in Manc^r. ; Necnon omnia et singula nostra Maneria, Messuagia, Molendia, Terras, Tenementa, Prata, Pascua et Pasturas, Mariscas, Bostos, Sub-Bostos, Aquas, Stagna, Vivaria, Redditus, Rever.

siones, Servitia, Rectorias, Vicarias, Ecclesiam ipsam quondam vocatam Ecclesiam sanctæ Mariæ de Manchester cum omnibus Capellis ejusdem Ecclesiæ vel Parochiæ, Capellanorum officia, obit terras, Pensiones, Portiones, Decimas, Oblationes, Allocationes, Advocaciones, Donationes, liberas Dispositiones, Jura Patronatûs, Rectoriarum, Vicariarum, Ecclesiarum, et aliorum beneficiorum et officiorum quorumcunq. Curias lect. visus franci plegii, liberas Warrenas, et omnia ad visum franci plegii, et liberam Warrenam spectantia sive pertinentia aut in posterum spectare et pertinere contingentia, extrahur bona et Catalla maveata, bona et Catalla felonum et fugitivorum et felonum de se et in exigend. posit. et quorumcunq. damnatorum; ac omnia alia jura, jurisdictiones, libertates, franchessas, privilegia, proficias, commoditates, emolumenta, possessiones, reversiones et hæreditamenta nostra quæcunq. cum suis pertinentibus tam spiritualia quam temporalia cujuscunq. fuerint generis naturæ vel speciei, seu quibuscunq. nominibus censeantur seu cognoscantur in Manchester alias Mancester prædict. in dicto Com. Lancast. quàm in aliquo alio Comitatu vel Loco infra Regnum nostrum Angliæ quæ per prædictam nuper Reginam Elisabetham per literas suas patentes gerentes datum XVIII. die Julii anno regni sui XX. Guardiano et Sociis Coll. Xti in Manc. a R. Eliz. fundati et Successoribus suis concessa fuerint, aut mentionantur esse concessa; vel per D. Philippum et D. Mariam nuper regem et reginam Angliæ per litteras suas patentes gerentes III. die Julii anno regni sui III. et IV. Magistro sive Custodi ac Sociis Capellanis Coll. B. Mariæ de Manc. in Com. Lanc. ex fundatione Philippi et Mariæ regis et Reginæ Angliæ et Successoribus suis concessa fuerunt, seu mentionantur esse concessa; vel quæ dictis nuper vel quondam Collegiis aut alteri eorum aut dictis Guardiano et Sociis dicti nuper Coll. Xti, in Manc. a R. Eliz. fund. aut nuper vel quondam Magistro sive Custodi ac Sociis Capellanis dicti nuper Collegii B. Mariæ de Manc. in Com. Lanc. ex fundatione Philippi et Mariæ Regis et Reginæ Angliæ aut capellis vel capellanis ejusdem Collegii aut eorum alicui vel aliquibus ante datum harum literarum patentium jure vel prætextu esse eorundem nuper vel quondam Collegiorum vel alterius eorum vel Capellorum vel Capellanorum pertinebant aut spectabant: Et quæ Magistri sive Custodis et Sociorum Capellani dicti Collegii ex fundatione Philippi et Mariæ, aut Guardiani et Sociorum dicti Col. ex fundatione Elisabethæ, aut aliorum Officiariorum eorundem, aut aliorum alterius aut aliquorum, antehac quomodocunq. fuerint aut ut membrum, Pars vel Parcela terrarum vel possessionum seu reversionum eorundem nuper vel quondam Collegiorum, aut Magistri sive Custodis et Sociorum Capellanorum, aut Guardiani et Sociorum aut aliorum Officiariorum eorundem nuper vel quondam Collegiorum seu eorum alicujus antehac habita, cognita, accepta, usitata et reputata fuerint, quocunq. jure aut titulo nos ***** sumus aut fuimus, aut quodcunq. jus aut titulum interesse inde habemus aut habuimus, habendum tenendum et gaudendum omnia et singula Maneria, Messuagia, Terras, Tenementa, Redditus, Reversiones, Servitia, Hæreditamenta, Capellas, Ecclesias, obit terr. Decimas, Libertates, Franchessas, privilegia ac cætera omnia et singula præmissa per præsentibus superius concessa, cum eorum pertinentibus universis præfato Guardiano et Sociis Coll. Xti in Manc. a R. Carolo fund. et Successoribus suis in perpetuum Tenendum de Nobis, Hæredibus et Successoribus nostris in liberam, puram et perpetuam eleemosynam pro omnibus Servitiis et demandatis quibuscunq.

Statuimus, ordinamus et volumus, quòd prædicti Guardianus et Socii, Capellani, Viri seu Clerici seu Laici Musices periti et pueri, et eorum singuli et successores sui, qui in dictum Collegium assumuntur et eligentur, tanta et talia stipendia annua percipient ex Coll. fructibus et redditibus tantis et tantillis, quanti iidem nunc annuatim accrescunt, (ubi vero Coll. reversiones auctiores

fient determinatis decimarum dimissionibus, eorum pleriq. omnes possunt stipendiorum quoq. suorum incrementum sperare) Videlicet, Guardiano LXX. libras annuatim. Unusquisq. divisim Sociorum annuatim XXXV. libras ex Collegii redditibus percipiet. Quilibet Vir Capellanus XVIII. annuatim libras et X. solidos, et quicquid præterea debetur ex Solemnizationibus Matrimoniorum (salvo semper jure Clericorum Parochianorum) et minuta illa, quæ Capellani solent jam antea in fundatione Elizabethæ percipere ex Officiis quibusdam in Ecclesiâ præstandis: Quilibet Vir seu Clericus seu Laicus X. annuatim libras: Quilibet puer musices peritus V. annuatim libras percipiet et habebit. Ubi verò dimissio sive dimissiones Decimarum in quibusdam Scripturis sive Indenturis expressæ inter Richardum Murray nuper reputatum Guardianum Coll. Xti in Manc^r. a R. Eliz. fund. et Socios dicti Coll. ex unâ parte, et Thom. Fanshaw Arm. et alium sive alios, quorum nomina inserebantur ad usum et profetas dicti Ric. Murray ex alterâ parte terminatæ vel aliter evacuatae fuerint: Volumus Guardianum et Socios et eorum Successores incrementum percipere ex auctis Collegii redditibus annuis et reversionibus. Ita tamen ut unusquisq. sigillatim et divisim Sociorum dimidiam tantùm proportionem Guardiani habeat, seu Guardianus duplâ proportionem superet singularem aliquem Sociorum, quam etiam proportionem observari volumus in profitibus finium percipiendis. Statuimus autem volumus, quòd Guardianus neq. aliquis sociorum quicquam emolumentum percipiet de finibus dimissionum quarumcunq. donec Ecclesia Collegiatæ, quatenus ad Collegium spectat, pro dignitate et honore loci reparata fuerit; et de domo vel domibus, ubi Guardianus et Socii et Successores sui una vel seorsim habitent, provideantur. Quoniam tamen Samuel Boardman et Richardus Johnson Clerici duo ex Sociis prædicti Coll. multum operis temporis et pecuniarum posuerint in causâ dicti Collegii prosequendâ et pro bono publico Collegiatorum, licebit dictis Dominis (quorum operâ usi sumus in hoc Collegio de novo erigendo) quicquid illis æquum videbitur in dictos Socios conferre de finibus prædictis pro suis in Collegii causâ expensis. Volumus etiam Capellanos, Viros sive Clericos sive Laicos, et pueros incrementum habere, juxta sanas directiones Guar. et Sociorum.

Statuimus etiam ordinamus et volumus, nullas decimas quasque in posterum dimissas fore personis quibuscunq. (finibus priùs acceptis) in diminutionem annui Valoris prætiive decimarum in usum Collegii alias proventuri.

Statuimus etiam et volumus nullas dimissiones messuagiorum et tenementorum quorumcunq. in posterum concedendas fieri pro longiori tempore quàm pro termino XXI. annorum in possessione et non pro tempore vitæ vel vitarum quarumcunq. et si Guardianus vel Socius aliquis contrarium fecerit, ut removeatur a Collegio ipso facto.

Et cum in fundatione tam Domini Philippi et D. Mariæ Regis et Reginae Angliæ, quàm nuper D. Eliz. nuper Reginae Angliæ, memoriæ beatissimæ Coll. gravissima damna accepit per absentiam Guardiani vel Guardianorum, qui tamen absentes nec ullum officium Guardiani præstantes magnam partem proventium dicti utriusq. Collegii ad se traxerunt, Statuimus ergo ordinamus et volumus Guar. et Socios et eorum Successores perpetuò residere et visitare in Villâ vel Parochiâ de Manchester, vel in domo vel domibus Collegiatis statim atq. de eâdem vel iisdem provisum erit.

Volumus Guardianum singulis diebus festis majoribus, nempe, Festo natalis Domini, Dominicâ Paschæ, Dominicâ Pentecostes, et Festo Ascensionis solemnes preces in Ecclesiâ Collegiatâ de Manchester rite celebrare; Socios item id officium præstare alternatim Diebus Dominicis omnibus, nisi eorum aliquis vel aliquâ malâ valetudine laboravit, aut detentus fuerit in Collegii negotiis, aut ex his litteris patentibus vel ex aliâ causâ rationabili excusandus fuerit.

Statuimus etiam, quod Guardianus habeat concionem ad populum in Ecclesiâ predictâ singulis diebus Festis majoribus, et quod Socius unusquisq. singulis mensibus alternatim Diebus Dominicis. Quod officium si Guard. in propriâ personâ præstare neglexerit X. solidos de suo stipendio annuo toties quoties amittet solvendo per Thesaurarium vel Bursarium (qui custos erit omnium Redi-tuum) Socio cuicunq. vel alii cuicunq. pro Guar. concionem habenti. Si verò Socius suam vicem concionandi neglexerit amittet toties quoties de suo annuo salario VI. solidos et VIII. denarios eodem modo solvendo Socio vel alii cuicunq. de Coll. ejus vicem subeunti. Proviso tamen semper, quòd Guar. et Socii, vel eorum aliquis (modò præsens ipse fuerit in Coll. sive Ecclesiâ) potest permittere humanitatis causâ peregrinum aliquem Presbyterum probum et doctum virum, sit modò obediens Disciplinæ Anglicanæ Ecclesiæ, ejus vicem in concionando subire, nec interim mulctâ aliquâ punietur.

Statuimus etiam ordinamus et volumus, quòd singulis diebus quibus Guardianus et Socii et eorum Successores aut eorum aliquis omnino non fuerit præsens in villâ nec parochiâ de Manches-ter, ita ut non possit ægrotum aliquem requisitus visitare aut alia officia pietatis aut charitatis præstare in dictâ Parochiâ, amittet Guardianus toties quoties de integro suo stipendio annuo II. solidos et VIII. denarios per Thesaurarium pauperibus villæ et Parochiæ solvendo, et singulus Socius singulis diebus toties quoties omnino non fuerit in villâ nec parochiâ prædictâ amittet pro quolibet die I. solidum et IV. denarios eodem modo pauperibus parochiæ et villæ solvendo.

Volumus Guardianum et Socios, priusquam vocem in Capitulo habere valeant, jurejurando se obstringere, quòd velint vel hoc statutum perpetuæ residentiæ observare, vel in casu violationis ejus Mulctæ libenter submittere, nec velint dispensationem ab hoc juramento suscipiendo vel suscepto petere a nobis, aut successoribus nostris, aut tali oblatâ dispensatione uti sub pænâ perjurii et remotionis a Collegio ipso facto; et quòd velint Thesaurario aive Bursario, quot dies absentes fuerint, ultra eos literis patentibus exceptos notos facere.

Excipimus tamen a præcedente statuto centum dies singulis annis simul sive interpolatim sumendos, quibus permittimus Guardianum abesse, dum necessaria sibi obit negotia, et interim non sustinere jacturam II. solidorum et VIII. denariorum. Largimur etiam unicuiq. divisim Sociorum, LXXX. dies ut supra numerandos Singulis annis excipiendos a præcedente statuto, quibus abesse licebit unicuiq. Socio nec interim I. solidi et IV. denariorum jactura puniri.

Præterea si Guardianus vel Socius aliquis aut ægrotus fuit, aut in negotiis Coll. versatus ex consensu Guar. et Capituli, non diminuetur illis stipendium per mulctam aliquam hujusmodi sint licet absentes.

Cumq. ulterius intelleximus diu esse ex quo exscripta quædam et munimenta Evidentiæ et Indentura concernentia Terras, Tenementa, Possessiones, et Hæreditamenta dicti nuper Collegii, aut saltem aliquam, partem et Parcellam eorum tangentem desumpta ex communi Coll. cistâ, et incertum admodum esse utrum omnia dicta exscripta eaq. integra aliquando restituentur, Statuimus et volumus, omnia hujusmodi exscripta, munimenta, Indenturas, Evidentias, una cum his literis nostris patentibus, Actis etiam Capitularibus, et aliis quibuscunq. quorum interest tuta servari, concludi in communi cistâ tribus ad minimum seris munitâ, quarum claves habebunt Guardianus et duo Socii seniores et eorum Successores, Guardianus alteram, et Socii dicti duo alteram atq. alteram.

Et Volumus nullum horum Scriptorum prædictorum ex cistâ prædictâ desumptum in posterum fore sine consensu Capituli, nec desumptum ex eadem detineri ultra spatium unius mensis, sine licentiâ petitâ et obtentâ ab Episcopo Cestriensi, quorum unumquodq. restitui volumus ad tempus

ab ipso designatum, et si quis vel Guardianus vel Socius contrafecerit, punietur ad placidum dicti Episcopi pro tempore existentis.

Volumus et concedimus etiam Episcopo Cestriensi licentiam et potestatem approbandi quæcunq. statuta Guardianus et Socii in posterum composuerint in bonum Collegii ab ipsis et successoribus suis observanda, quæ deinde observari volumus donec pari aut nostrâ authoritate abrogentur. Concedimus porrò per præsentis Guardiani et Socii pro tempore existentibus potestatem istius modi statuta concipiendi et componendi, modo his nostris non sint contraria.

Et insuper de uberiori gratiâ nostrâ ac ex certâ scientiâ, et mero motu nostris, damus et per præsentis concedimus præfatis Guardiani et Sociis Coll. Xti in Mancr. a R. Cur. fund. et successoribus suis licentiam specialem, liberam et licitam facultatem et authoritatem recipiendi habendi et perquirendi sibi et successoribus suis post datum præsentium in perpetuum ultra præmissa, per præsentis concessa, tam de nobis Hæredibus et Successoribus nostris, quàm de aliis quibuscunq. personis seu aliâ quâcunq. personâ, Maneria Messuagia, Terras, Tenementa, Rectorias, Decimas, Advocationes Ecc^m., redditus, Servitia, et alia Hæreditamenta quæcunq. cum pertinentibus infra Regnum Angliæ, seu alibi infra dominia nostra, quæ de Nobis, Hæredibus et Successoribus nostris non teneantur immediatè in Capite, vel aliter per Servitium militare, dummodo ea non excedant clarum annum valorem centum librarum ultra omnia onera vel reprisas juxta verum antiquum valorem eorundem, et eisdem aliis personis et alii personæ cuicunq. et eorum cuilibet quoddam ipse vel ipsi, sive eorum aliquis vel aliqui Maneria, Messuagia, Terras, Tenementa, Rectorias, Decimas, Advocationes Ecc^m., redditus, Servitia, et alia Hæreditamenta quæcunq. cum pertinentibus, quæ de Nobis Hæredibus et Successoribus nostris non tenentur immediatè in capite vel aliter per servitium militare, ad dictum clarum annum valorem centum librarum ultra omnia onera et reprisas juxta verum antiquum valorem, præfatis Guard. et Sociis Coll. Xti in Mancr., a R. Car. fund., et Successoribus suis ad eorum usus prædictos in perpetuum dare et concedere, vendere, legare et alienare possit vel possint tenore præsentium.

Similiter licentiam damus specialem habendi, tenendi et gaudendi Statuto de terris in manum mortuam non ponendis aut aliquo alio Statuto, Ordinatione, Provisione sive restrictione inde in contrarium habito, facto, edito, ordinato, sive proviso, aut aliquâ aliâ re, causâ vel materiâ quâcunq. in aliquo non obstante. Et hoc absq. aliquo vel aliquibus brevibus de *ad quod damnum*, sive aliquâ aliâ licentiâ vel aliquibus aliis literis patentibus, Inquisitionibus vel regiis mandatis; et absq. aliquâ aliâ Inquisitione super aliquo brevi de *ad quod damnum*, sive de aliquibus aliis brevibus seu mandatis nostris Hæredum vel Successorum nostrorum in hac parte faciendâ, habendâ et prosequendâ, capiendâ, impetrandâ seu exequendâ: et absq. impetitione, molestatione, impedimento, vel perturbatione nostri, Hæredum vel Successorum nostrorum, Justiciarorum, Escheatorum, Vicecomitum, Coronatorum, Ballivorum, seu Ministrorum nostrorum, vel Hæredum, vel successorum nostrorum quorumcunq. et absq. fine pro licentiâ ad manum mortuam, vel aliter aliquando, seu aliquo alio fine quocunq. ad opus nostrum, Hæredum vel Successorum nostrorum, inde faciendo reddendo vel solvendo.

Volumus tamen ac per præsentis concedimus pro Nobis, Hæredibus et Successoribus, quoddam benè licebit Guar. et Sociis Coll. Xti in Mancr. a R. Carolo fundati, et Successoribus suis perquirere domos et aliqua alia Tenementa, Terras, Hæreditamenta quæcunq. dudum pertinentia Coll. de Mancr. in Com. Lancr. Authoritate Parlamenti, Anno præclarissimi nostri Fratris Edwardi sexti primo, eidem Fratri nostro concessa, licet tenentur de nobis, Hæredibus vel Successoribus nostris in capite aut per servitium militare, Statuto de terris in manum mortuam non ponendis aut aliquâ

aliâ re aut causâ in contrarium non obstante : et hoc absq. aliquo brevi de ad quod damnum, fine aut feodo.

Ac Ulterius de uberiori gratiâ nostrâ pro Nobis, Hæredibus et Successoribus nostris volumus ac per præsentem concedimus Guar. et Sociis Coll. Xti in Manc^r. præd. et Successoribus suis, quòd ipsi similiter habere et perquirere possint sibi et Successoribus suis omnia et singula, Terras et Tenementa Scholæ in Manc^r. prædicto modo pertinentia, atq. domum olim Collegiatam, et duas acras terræ vel eo circiter ei adjacentes cum pertinentibus, licet de Nobis, Hæredibus et Successoribus teneantur in capite aut per servitium militare, Statuto de terris in manum mortuam non ponendis aut aliquâ aliâ re, causâ, vel materiâ in contrarium non obstante : ac cuilibet Personæ, et quibuscumque Personis, quòd ipsi dare, concedere et alienare possint prædictis Guardiani et Sociis Coll. Xti in Manc^r. prædict. a R. Car. fund. et Successoribus suis : Similiter tenore præsentium licentiam damus et concedimus per præsentem pro Nobis Hæredibus et Successoribus nostris.

Volumus etiam et concedimus præfatis Guardiani et Sociis Coll. Xti in Manc^r. a R. Car. fund. quòd habeant et habebant has literas nostras patentes sub magno Sigillo Nostro Angliæ factas et sigillatas absq. fine seu feodo magno vel parvo nobis in Hanaperio nostro seu alibi ad usum nostrum proinde quoquomodo reddendo, solvendo vel faciendo.

Eo quòd expressa mentio de vero valore annuo vel de certitudine præmissorum sive eorum aliqujus aut de aliis donis sive concessionibus per nos seu per aliquem Progenitorum sive Prædecessorum Nostrorum præfatis Guardiani et Sociis Coll. Xti in Manc^r. a R. Car. fund. ante hæc tempora factis in præsentibus minimè facta existit, aut aliquo Statuto, Actu, Ordinatione, Provisione, Proclamatione sive Restrictione in contrarium inde antehac habito, facto, edito, ordinato, sive proviso, aut aliquâ aliâ re, causâ vel materiâ quacumq. in aliquo non obstante.

In cujus mei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes, Teste me ipso apud Canbury 2 die Octobris anno regni nostro Undecimo.

Per breve de privato Sigillo

1636.

WOLSEY.

The copy of this document, from the MS. volume lent me by Mr Wray, is followed by that of a later bye law which was framed by Dr Stratford by virtue of a power conferred in the charter ; and although a translation of it appears in an early page of the second volume of this work, it may perhaps be advisable to afford some space for it in its original form :

De Capellanis Xti Coll. Ecclesiæ Mancuniensis, Novum Statutum.

Cum per literas patentes Serenissimi Carol. Primi concessa sit Guardiani et Sociis Coll. Xti in Manc. in Com. Lancast. potestas nova Statuta concipiendi et componendi in bonum Colleg. prædicti quæ a Rev. in X^{to} patre Episcopo Cestriensi approbata Virtute Literarum patentium prædictar. ab ipsis et successoribus suis observari debent, donec pari auctoritate abrogentur :

Nos Guardianus et Socii Coll. prædicti in domo Capitulari congregati pro meliore Gubernatione dicti Colleg. decernimus, statuimus et ordinamus, quòd duo Capellani seu Vicarii, quatuor Viri seu Clerici sive Laici, et quatuor Pueri Musices periti pro tempore existentes et eorum successores de tempore in tempus qui preces et Servitia divina quotidiana in Ecclesiâ dicti Coll. celebraturi

sunt omnes simul et eorum singuli Regimini Correctioni et Dispositioni Capituli dicti Collegii aut majoris Partis Capituli subsint et subesse teneantur : Ita

1mo, Ut eorum aliquis si officium suum plane neglexerit aut minus diligenter præstiterit mulctetur et puniatur pro Discretionem et arbitrio Capituli.

2do, Licet eorum aliquis officium suum in Statutis præscriptum fideliter exequatur, si tamen sit vitâ et moribus infamis aut alicuj. culpæ notabiliter reus quæ Collegio opprobrium affigat aut aliis justam offensionis materiam præbeat puniatur etiam ad arbitrium Capituli.

Proviso tamen quòd alicujus pœna non extendatur ad remotionem a loco suo priusquam a Guardianiano si præsens sit aut eo absente a seniori socio qui in Villâ de Manchester præsens fuerit, de culpâ suâ bis admoneatur aut citatus sit ut admoneatur. Si vero immorigerum se exhibuerit ita ut post secundam Admonitionem ejusdem criminis cujus admonitus erat, reus iterum deprehendatur aut citatus recusaverit apparere, liceat Capitulo eum a loco suo in Coll. amovere et alium Capellanum, aut virum aut puerum musices peritum in locum ejus, quasi jam mortuus esset eligere.

Permittimus tamen Capellano dum invisit amicos aut alia necessaria sibi obit negotia singulis trimestribus decem dies, aut toto anno quadraginta dies quibus ab Ecclesiâ Collegii abesse liceat, veniâ prius a Guardiano aut Sub-Guardiano in Guardiani absentia aut in absentia Sub-Guardiani a seniori socio qui tunc aderit, impetratâ.

Similiter cuiq. viro musicorum perito quinq. dies singulis trimestribus vel in toto anno viginti dies et cuiq. puero tres dies singulis trimestribus vel in toto anno duodecim dies quibus se absentet a publicis precibus veniâ (ut superius dicitur) prius impetratâ, largimur. Proviso insuper, quòd non obstante hoc statuto liceat Guardiano vel eo absente sub-Guardiano vel eo absente seniori Socio qui præsens fuerit, rationabili aliquâ de causâ concedere Capellanis aut viris aut pueris musicorum peritis aut eorum alicui veniam se absentandi ultra tempus in hoc statuto concessum.

Maii die sexto 1671.

NIC. STRATFORD, *Guardianus.*

RICHARDUS JOHNSON, *Sub-Guardian.*

THO^s. WESTON, *Bursarius.*

FRANCISC. MOSLEY, *Regr.*

MICHAEL ADAMS, *Collr. Redetm.*

Hæc Statuta erant approbata et confirmata per Johannem Episc. Cestriens. in visitatione Ecclesiæ Collegiatæ de Manc. habitâ decimo Die Mensis Junii A. D. 1671.

EXTRACTS FROM THE COLLEGIATE REGISTERS, MANCHESTER, OF BURIALS.

For the following extracts from the Collegiate Registers, relative to the earlier Wardens and Fellows recorded, I am indebted to Mr Palmer.

1575, April, 7, John Smith, late Deacon of the Colledge of Manchester.

1592-3, Jan^r 14, Jane, wief to Robert Leigh, Deacon of this Church.

1604-5, March 20, Mr Oliver Carter, one off the fellows of y^e Colledg of Manch^r.

1604-5, March 23, Mrs Jane Dee, wyffe to y^e Righte Wor. John Dee.

- 1605, July 21, Mr Kirke, one of the Curats of Manchester.
It appears from the registers, that Mr Kirk buried many of his children who had died that summer during the plague.—J. P.
- 1609, Oct^r. 24, Andrew, sonne to Mr Willm. Burnes, ffellowe of the Colledge.
- 1610, Aug. 8, Barnabas, sonne to Mr W^m. Bourne, Bachelour of Divinitie, and one of y^c fellows of the Colledge.
- 1611, Nov. 5, John, sonne to W^m. Bourne, Bachelo^r in Divinitie.
- 1615, Julie 27, Mr Rychard Kenyon, one of the Fellowes of y^c Colledge.
- 1616, May 20, John, sonne to Mr William Bourne, Fellowe of the Colledge.
- 1620-1, March 18, Charles Leighe of Manchester, the eld^r. Receauo^r. for y^c Colledge.
- 1623, Aug. 22, Mr Richard Learoide, one of y^c Chapleins of Xste Colledge in Manch.
- 1626, July 4, James, sonne to y^c Worⁿ. William Bourne, Bachelo^r. of Divinitie, and ffellowe of Christe Colledge in Manchester.
- 1632, Aprile 1, The Worⁿ. Daniell Baker, one of y^c ffellowes of the Colledge of Christe in Manchester, was drowned at Salford Bridge.
- June 28, Anne, daughter to y^c Worⁿ. Mr William Bourne, Seignior Fellow of the Colledge of Christe in Manchester.
- Aug. 20, Mr Edward Tacey, Chaplein of y^c Colledg of Xste in Manchester.
- Oct. 21, ffrances, daught^r. to Mr Peter Shawe, one of the ffellowes of y^c Colledge.
- 1634, July 7, ffrances, wyffe to the Worⁿ. Mr Peter Shawe, one of the Fellowes of Christe Colledg in Manchester.
- 1635, Nov. 15, Rebeka, daught^r. to Robert Browne, one of y^c Chapleins of the Colledge of Christe in Manchester.
- 1636, April 3, Margaret Shawe, deceased at Mr Peet^r Shawe's house in y^c Millingate, one of y^c ffellowes of Xste Colledge.
- May 12, James, sonne to the Righte Worⁿ. William Bournes, Bachelor of Divinitie, and Seignior ffellow of Christis Colledg in Manchester.
- 1637, May 5, William, sonne to the Righte Worⁿ. Richard Heyrick, Warden of the Colledg of Christe in Manchester.
- 1638-9, Feb. 27, Thomas, sonne to Mr Symonds, one of the Chapleins of the Colledge of Christe in Manchester.
- 1642, Aprile 2, Ellin, y^c wiffe of Mr Richard Heyricke, Warden of the COLLEDG of Christe in Manchester, founded by King Charles.
- May 7, Suzanna, daughter to the Worⁿ. Richard Heyrick, Warden of Manchest^r.
- 1643, Maye 25, Anne, daughter to the Right Worⁿ. Richard Heyrick, Warden of the Colledge of Manchester.
- Aug. 26, Mr William Bourne, Bachelor of Divinitie, Preacher of the Worde of God at Manchester, and one of the ffellowes of Xste Colledge.
- 1646, March 25, Charles Leigh, of Manchester, one of the Deacons of Chris. Colledge.
- 1647, May 15, John, sonne to y^c Right Worppⁿ. Richard Heyrick, Warden of Christ Colledge in Manchester.
- 1647, feb. 8, Samuel, son of Mr Richard Hollinworthe, one of the ffellowes of Christ Colledge in Manchester.

- 1648, March 1, Joan, daughter to y^c Right Worpp^l. Richard Heyrick, Warden of Christ Colledge in Manchester.
- 1650, Aug. 16, Joane, daughter to y^c Right Worshipfull Richard Heyrick, Warden of Christ Colledge in Manchester.
- 1653, Aug. 16, Joan, daughter to Richard Hollinworth, of Manchester, Clerke.
- 1667, Aug. 9, The Right Worshipfull Richard Heyrick, Warden of Christ College in MANCHESTER.

REMARKS ON SOME FEW OF THE BOOKS CONSULTED IN THE PRESENT HISTORY.

As the titles of most of the books which I have consulted have been given in the course of this history, a repetition of such is unnecessary. I shall therefore confine myself to the enumeration of a few which demand some distinct remarks, and then proceed to give the catalogue of those from the library of Mr Heywood, which treat of the civil war in Lancashire.

1. *Mr Hollingworth's Mancuniensis*.—It is well known that a copy of this manuscript exists in the Chetham Library; but it is not so well known, that a revised edition of the same by the author was commenced before his death, though left unfinished. This was the copy placed in my hands by Mr Agnew, one of the publishers, wherein I have found some corrections of importance, of which I have availed myself.

2. *History of the Wardens, A. D. 1773. as well as later Editions*.—The history of the earlier wardens is chiefly extracted from Hollingworth; but who it was that attempted to continue the history, I cannot say. The oldest copy of this work (a manuscript one,) is said to have been, or still is, in the possession of Mrs Ogden of Ardwick, "whose father," says the MS. "the late John Brierley of Topoth Park, copied from some old papers many years ago."

3. *The Charters of the Collegiate Church, the Free Grammar School, and Blue Coat Hospital. Printed by T. Harper, Smithy Door, 1791*.—This book contains some very bad translations of the College Charters, which I have been compelled to give in the absence of the originals. I have heard that this work was published by a Mr Cropper.

4. *Account of Public Charities, digested and arranged from the Reports of His Majesty's Commissioners on Charitable Foundations, &c. London, Simpkin and Marshall*.—From this most useful work I have derived most of the notices which are given of charitable bequests.

5. *The late Mr Greswell's Collections*.—The original collections never came into my hands, nor do I know who is the possessor of them. As far as my inquiries have gone, I understand that after Mr Greswell's death, they became the property of a bookseller in Manchester, by whom they were sold at an extraordinary price to some gentleman living at Rochdale or the neighbourhood. The manuscript given to me was merely a transcript,—a circumstance of which, at the time I received it, I was perfectly ignorant, nor had I any suspicion of the same until I began to arrange the materials which it contained, when, to my annoyance, I found that I could scarcely depend upon the accuracy of a single line. But if I was thus misled, I entirely acquit the publishers of any blame in the business, as they were as ignorant of the fact as myself. Mr Gres-

well's labours have thus, instead of assisting me, added to my perplexity and trouble, by too frequently leading me astray.

There is again another transcript of these collections which exists. It would appear that Mr Greswell had submitted the result of his labours to the inspection of Dr Whittaker, the historian of Whalley, and, after the decease of this author, the said transcript appeared on sale, which was purchased by Mr Heywood. I had not, however, the advantage of consulting this copy until I was far advanced in the present history. It appears more correct than the other, but still inaccurate, which may, perhaps, be explained by its having been the work of some scribe in the character of a village schoolmaster.

CATALOGUE OF TRACTS RELATING TO THE CIVIL WAR IN LANCASHIRE IN THE LIBRARY OF
THOMAS HEYWOOD, ESQ. OF SWINTON LODGE.

1. Three Sermons preached at the Collegiate Church in Manchester. By Richard Heyrick, Warden of the said College, July 8, 1640, November 5, 1688, November 5, 1639. London, 1641.
2. The Petition of divers of his Majesty's faithful subjects of the true Protestant Religion in the County of Lancaster, presented to his Majesty at York, the last of May, by the High Sheriffe of that County, &c. &c., subscribed by 64 knights and esquires, 55 divines, 740 gentlemen, and of freeholders and others above 7000, with his Majesty's answer, June 6, 1642. London: printed by R. Barker. 1642.
3. The beginning of the Civil Warres in England, or a skirmish between Lord Strange and the inhabitants of Manchester in Lancashire, July 14, &c. Likewise a letter which the Lord Strange sent to the gentry of Manchester, July 5, with their answer; together with the Parliament declaration concerning the said Lord. Ordered to be printed, Hen. Elsyng, Cler. Parl. D. Com. London, Tompson, July 9, 1642.
4. Severall Letters from Committees in severall counties, to the Honourable William Lenthall, Speaker of the House of Commons, wherein (amongst divers others) is related how Manchester stood on its defence, &c., with an intercepted letter from Sir Edward Fitton, also several votes of both Houses. Ordered, 27th June 1642, that these votes, and four letters be forthwith published. Joh. Brown, Cler. Parliamentorum. London, Hunscoth and Wright, 1642.
5. A True Relation of the taking of Roger Manwaring, &c., also the relation of the sudden rising of the Lord Strange in Lancashire, &c. London: printed by Thomas Banks, July 9, 1642.
6. Lamentable and sad Newes from the North, viz. York, Lancaster. &c. London, G. Thomlinson and T. Watson, 1642.
7. An Impeachment of James Lord Strange, &c., with an order of the Lords and Commons for the apprehension of the said Lord, &c. London, Wright, 1642.
8. To the King's Most Excellent Majesty, the humble Petition of divers recusants and others, in the County of Lancaster, that they may be received into his Majesty's protection, and have their arms delivered them. Ordered, that this petition, with the King's answer, be forthwith printed. Hen. Elsyng, C. Parl. Dom. Com. London, Husband, 1642.
9. A True and Faithful Relation of the besieging of the Town of Manchester in Lancashire, upon Saturday the 24th of September, &c. also a declaration of the Lords and Commons in Parliament to the Inhabitants of the said Town.

10. A Continuation of the late proceedings of his Majesty's army at Shrewsbury, Bridgenorth, and Manchester, &c. Written by a good hand from the army. London, Batt, October 12, 1642.
11. A True and full Relation of the Troubles in Lancashire, &c. London, Blackmore, December 9, 1642.
12. Lancashire's Valley of Achor is England's Door of Hope set wide open, &c. &c. London, Fawne, 1643.
13. A Declaration and Summons sent by the Earl of Newcastle to the Town of Manchester, to lay down their arms, with the resolute answer of the Commander-in-Chief, and Soldiers in Manchester. London, Cole, 1643.
14. Some Notable Observations upon the late Summons of the Town of Manchester, written by a worthy member of the House of Commons, and appointed to be printed. London, Husband, 1643.
15. Lancaster's Massacre, or the new way of advancing the Protestant Religion, and expressing loyalty to the King and Queen, namely, to cut the throats of Protestant men, women, and children. London, Underhill, 1643.
16. Manchester's Joy for Derby's overthrow, &c. &c. London, Hayward, 1643.
17. Exceeding joyful newes out of Lancashire, &c. being a true relation of the Parliament's forces taking Warrington, &c. London, Ward, 1643.
18. A True relation of the great victory obtained by the Parliament's forces in Lancashire, sent in a letter by Colonel Rigby to the Honourable William Lenthall. London, Husband, 1643.
19. A Journal of the Siege of Latham House, in Lancashire, &c. London, Harding, 1823. (Manchester supplied the soldiers for this and every other undertaking during the war. There are two MSS. extant of this Journal, one in the Ashmolean Library, (A. Wood's MSS. D. 16—,) which was printed in the European Magazine, Vol. 23, 1793, and again with notes in the Liverpool Kaleidoscope in 1820, 1821. The one above-mentioned is from the Harl. MSS. 2043.)
20. A True Copy of the Petition of twelve thousand five hundred and upwards, of the well affected Ministers, &c. of the County of Lancaster to the House of Commons and Peers, &c. &c. with a parancetick to Lancashire. By John Tilsley, together with the answer of the Peers. London, Meacock, 1646.
21. Queen Esther's resolves, a Sermon preached before the Honourable the House of Commons at the monthly fast, May 27, 1646, by Richard Heyricke, Warden of Christ's Colledge in Manchester, and one of the Assembly of Divines. London, Fawne, 1646.
22. The deliberate Resolution of the Ministers of the Gospel within the County Palatine of Lancaster, with the grounds and cautions, according to which they put into execution the Presbyterian government upon the present ordinances of Parliament. London, 1647.
23. Certain queries, modestly propounded, &c. &c. especially to Master Samuel Eaton. By R. Hollingworth. London, Smith, 1646.
24. A Rejoinder to Master Samuel Eaton, &c. &c., especially to his dearly beloved, and longed for, the inhabitants in and neare Manchester in Lancashire. By R. Hollinworth. London, 1647.
25. A great victory at Appleby, by Colonel-General Ashton, October 9, 1648. London, Smithurst, 1648. (Ashton commanded the Manchester soldiers.)
26. An impartial relation of the late fight at Preston, &c. London, 1648.

27. *The Harmonious consent of the Ministers of the Province within the County-Palatine of Lancaster, with their reverend brethren the Ministers of the Province of London, &c. &c.* London, Fawne, 1648.

28. *Good services hitherto ill rewarded, or a relation of eight years services done in and about Manchester.* By Lieutenant-Colonel Roseworm. (London, printed in the year 1649, and reprinted in octavo.) Manchester, Leigh, 1822.

(Palmer, the Editor, has prefixed the account of the siege of Manchester, taken from the *Jehovah Jireh*, part first, p. 172.)

29. *A Solemn Exhortation, made and published to the several Churches of Christ within the Province of Lancaster, &c. &c.* By the Provincial Synod assembled at Preston, February 7, 1648. London, Fawne, 1649.

30. *The paper called the Agreement of the People taken into consideration, and the lawfulness of subscription to it examined, and resolved in the negative.* By the ministers of Christ in the Province of Lancaster, &c. London, Fawne, 1649.

31. *The Main Points of Church Government and Discipline plainly and modestly handled by way of question and answer.* By R. Hollinworth. London, Fawne, 1649.

32. *Excommunicatio Excommunicata, or a Censure of the Presbyterian censures and proceedings in the classis at Manchester, &c.* London, Meacock, 1658.

33. *The Censures of the Church revived in the defence of a short paper published by the first classis within the province of Lancaster.* London, Eversdew, 1659.

34. *Usurpation defeated, and David restored, a Sermon preached at the Collegiate Church, Manchester, on his Majesty's restoration.* By the Reverend H. Newcome. (1660.)

35. *The Sinner's Hope, the substance of a Sermon preached at Manchester.* By the Reverend Henry Newcome. (1660.)

36. *A Sermon preached at the Collegiate Church, Manchester, on Tuesday, April 23, 1661.* By Richard Heyricke, Warden. London. (A MS. copy.)

END OF VOLUME FIRST.

DIRECTIONS TO THE BINDER.

The Binder is desired to cancel the four following leaves of the First Volume:

The fourth leaf of sheet K, pages 79 and 80.

The first leaf of sheet L, pages 81 and 82.

The fourth leaf of sheet L, pages 87 and 88.

The fourth leaf of sheet T, pages 151 and 152.

The leaves substituted for these are marked with an asterisk (*) below each page.

Directions for the insertion of the Engravings will appear at the end of the Third Volume.

